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PART I

Introduction

A. BACKGROUND FOR THE CANADA NEWSTART PROGRAM

In 1963 the federal government announced a program of assistance to 35 areas in Canada characterized by high chronic unemployment and slow growth. It was assumed that unemployment and slow growth in these areas resulted from economic deficiencies. Assistance was therefore economic, in the form of promotion of capital investment. By 1965 it was evident that it was necessary not only to promote capital investment but also to increase manpower utilization; this was seen as an occupational training problem. Occupational training programs had already been initiated under the Technical and Vocational Training Act. In May 1965 the Cabinet agreed to co-operate with the provinces in setting up joint pilot training projects to attempt to solve the training needs of the high-unemployment slow-growth areas. The following month a committee was named, with Dr. W. R. Dymond, then Assistant Deputy Minister of Labour, as chairman, to prepare a detailed proposal. The committee included persons from the Technical and Vocational Training and Economics and Research branches of the Department of Labour and the Special Planning Secretariat of the Privy Council.

The committee proposed the establishment of a limited number of experimental pilot projects for the broad purpose of making individuals in the slow-growth areas more productive. The project areas were to be, in effect, laboratories in which techniques and courses would be tested for later application in other slow-growth areas.

This proposal was put before the federal-provincial conference held in July 1965 by Prime Minister Pearson, who said:

"The federal government believes that this kind of experiment is essential to developing the improvements in manpower policies which the Economic Council of Canada has emphasized are essential if we are to realize the potentialities of our economy."

¹ Material for this part from [19, 25, 53].

At that conference it was agreed to convene a meeting of provincial ministers of education and labour to consider the proposal. In the meantime the committee added to the proposal more detailed specification of objectives and terms of reference, and suggestions regarding program components. Many of their ideas came from reports on training programs in the U.S. War on Poverty, but *three suggested features made the proposed program unique:*

1. the study of job opportunities and characteristics of potential trainees *before* designing training programs;
2. management training for poverty-level owner-operators;
3. a research component which would make it possible to adapt, discard, refine and adopt programs according to data-based knowledge.

Before the meeting of provincial ministers of education and labour, postponed because of the election in the fall of 1965, the expanded proposal was presented to a meeting of members of the Canadian Association of Administrators of Labour Legislation and of the Canadian Education Association (also members of the National Technical and Vocational Training Advisory Council). Following discussion at this meeting, the proposal was further expanded in the areas of project establishment, financing and administration, and technical support. In January 1966 it was presented to the provincial ministers at a meeting chaired by the Hon. Jean Marchand, then minister of the newly-established Department of Manpower and Immigration. The ministers agreed with the concept. The next step was to determine the form of organization and the powers to be given to it. It was agreed that the organization should be a non-profit company established jointly by the federal and provincial governments and funded by the federal government. This recommendation was conveyed to provincial departments of education and labour through a letter from Mr. Tom Kent, then Deputy Minister of Manpower and Immigration, dated March 23, 1966. The following are extracts from this letter:

The *primary tasks*¹ of the project will be to discover the economic, social and other obstacles to training and to develop effective means to surmount them. . . . The project will be concerned with the training and retraining of all adults in the selected areas and, among other things, will develop programs for school dropouts, the unemployed, the underemployed, low income workers, workers displaced or threatened by technological change and persons whose productivity is affected by a decline in primary industries.

B. ESTABLISHMENT OF PILOT PROJECTS BRANCH AND NEW-START CORPORATIONS

In October 1966 a Pilot Projects Branch was created in the Department of Manpower and Immigration to carry out the actual establishment of

¹ Our italics.

what was now being referred to as the "NewStart" program. Following some preliminary work, all ten provinces were invited to submit proposals on NewStart areas for discussion. In June of 1967 the first NewStart was incorporated, in Nova Scotia, through agreement with the provincial Department of Education. The project area, selected by the province, was Yarmouth County. In August, Saskatchewan NewStart (project area, Prince Albert), Alberta NewStart (project area centred in Lac la Biche), and Prince Edward Island NewStart (project area, Kings County) were incorporated. In May 1969 New Brunswick NewStart (project area, Kent County) was incorporated, and in July 1969 Manitoba NewStart (project area centered in The Pas) was incorporated. For various reasons agreements were not concluded with the other provinces.

C. CHANGES IN FEDERAL ADMINISTRATION

. In July 1969 the Pilot Projects Branch was transferred to the Department of Forestry and Rural Development, where it became the Experimental Projects Branch. The focus shifted somewhat from training disadvantaged people to experimentation in the social and human aspects of development.

In July 1969 the Department of Regional Economic Expansion was formed, and the Experimental Projects Branch was transferred to this department, becoming part of the Social and Human Analysis Branch.

D. TERMINATION DATES

From the outset NewStart was regarded as a relatively short-term program. The experimental NewStart projects were limited to an operating life of three to four years with additional time for planning and preparation and for phase-out. Accordingly, Prince Edward Island NewStart surrendered its charter in August 1971; Manitoba NewStart, established in 1966, did so in December 1971; and Saskatchewan NewStart and Alberta NewStart terminated their research, development, and experimental training activities in August 1972. Saskatchewan NewStart, however, continued to publish its course materials. In September 1972 the Department of Manpower and Immigration established a Training Research and Development Station with the facilities, equipment, programs and 24 key personnel from Saskatchewan NewStart. The station will continue the work of NewStart and will conduct research in other areas of Manpower training. Nova Scotia NewStart was extended to December 31, 1972 to prepare consolidated reports and disseminate information on the DACUM [1] system. New Brunswick NewStart is expected to operate until 1974.

E. PROGRAMS

The above is no more than the bare structure of the Canada NewStart Program. Its programs, studies, and findings are treated in this and other consolidated reports, as well as in the reports of the individual corporations.

Because of the autonomy granted to the individual corporations, and since they operated in different sections of the country among people with different problems and needs, there was great variation in NewStart programs. All, however, had some things in common. All corporations conducted adult basic education programs (though some gave this more emphasis than others); all had some form of life skills training; all included some form of occupational training and some counselling, and all gave some attention to community or social development.

PART II

Rationale

The original mandate of the NewStart corporations was to develop programs which would demonstrate means of moving unemployed and underemployed individuals into stable, rewarding employment. The initial concern was with occupational training. It soon became apparent that many participants in training programs lacked both the basic education and the life skills needed for stable employment in any meaningful and rewarding occupation: that acquisition of occupational skills alone would not move people into stable and rewarding employment. Basic education and life skills courses, therefore, became part of the NewStart program.

At the same time sociologists, social workers, and social animators, hired by the corporations to form part of their interdisciplinary teams, were arguing that the program should be broadened in another way. According to them, the proper way to combat unemployment and poverty was through social development or community intervention, and the disadvantaged themselves should participate in diagnosing and prescribing for their sick communities. This thinking is reflected in the program proposals for 1968. Nova Scotia NewStart, the first NewStart company to be incorporated, included in its coordinated experimental training plan for 1968 the following proposal [38]:

In some cases the unemployment seems to be a function of the total community rather than, or in addition to, the problems of the individual. It is proposed to develop a series of projects . . . to examine community training needs on a broad base.

Saskatchewan NewStart's proposed program for 1968 included the following [46]:

Families living north of the river appear to share in the discrimination directed at the whole community. . . . The people have had very limited success in getting municipal services in their community. It is suspected that

a change in the substance and the image of North Prince Albert would result from the cumulative effects of the interaction of families analyzing and exploiting their own capabilities. . . . Neighbourhood relationships will be systematically developed as a supportive device to the changes within the family.

The proposal addressed to the funding agency then went on to describe what was, in effect, a social development program for North Prince Albert.

Alberta NewStart, in its proposal to the federal Minister of Manpower and Immigration, and to the Alberta Minister of Education, wrote in 1968 [4]:

The Alberta NewStart approach to the problem of the Indian and Métis of northeast Alberta is to design a system for the acculturation, *social* and vocational *development* of the target population.¹

The above proposals were approved, but emphasis continued to be on training, and there was some feeling within the corporations and their boards of directors that social development or community intervention was a roundabout and not quite legitimate route to achieving “stable and rewarding employment” for unemployed and underemployed individuals.

In July 1968, the NewStart program was transferred from the Department of Manpower and Immigration to the Department of Forestry and Rural Development, and, as noted in Part I, the emphasis shifted somewhat from training to experimentation in the social and human aspects of development. Corporation plans for 1969 reflect this change. Nova Scotia NewStart introduced community development plans with a quotation from Dorothy and H. Curtis Mial [29]:

Essentially, community development is planned social change. It is subject to the law that change in one aspect of a culture has repercussions throughout the culture. Planning which does not anticipate these far-reaching repercussions and does not involve people in coping with them may be unrealistic and even irresponsible.

The corporation went on to describe its community development plans [39]:

Major emphasis will be placed upon obtaining consensus among various groups in this community, when problems are identified and issues are known, so that a plan of action with respect to problems will not be difficult and solutions will invariably be found.

Plans are already made and activities are being carried out to organize residents of Yarmouth South in social action groups. . . . The collaborative approach will be used in attempts to bring about concerted efforts in reaching social goals.

¹ Our italics.

Alberta NewStart advised the funding agency that it had already embarked on [3]:

... adult training programs aimed at the whole family, in their own communities, in a work-oriented environment and with a substantial emphasis on personal, *social and community skills development*¹ as well as development of employment skills.

Prince Edward Island NewStart proposed the establishment of community services centres, listing among its reasons [41]:

Community members will improve the general quality of living in each community and make a better response to felt community needs. Assistance in identifying problems, in identifying resources, in establishing goals, and instruction in organizing for problem solving will result in effective community action.

In July 1969 the program was transferred to the Department of Regional Economic Expansion, and the shift in emphasis continued. A position paper prepared by the technical support center of the Social and Human Analysis Branch of the Department in September, 1969, referred to a broadened program and the reasoning behind it [55]:

To increase the possibility of meaningful and permanent impact, NewStart programs were broadened to include a multi-level approach to the examination and treatment of human needs. In addition to basic job training projects, NewStart programs include such projects as:

- a. basic life skills training;
- b. basic educational training;
- c. family and individual counselling;
- d. home-maker training; and
- e. community development.

The same month, September 1969, E. A. Tracey, research consultant with the Social and Human Analysis Branch, in a paper entitled "A Humanistic Psychological Conceptualization of NewStart", defined the aim of the Canada NewStart Program as "constructive change in the quality of life of those now living in disadvantaged conditions" and modification of "the individual served by the program" and "*the community in which the program operates*"¹. Community modification, according to Tracy, is aimed at "a restructuring of those attitudes and values on the part of the non-poor which are instrumental in maintaining the poor in that status" [56]. NewStart program developers saw this as only one of the aims of their community or social change programs.

¹ Our italics.

PART III

Factors Shaping Social Development Programs

Perhaps more than other NewStart programs, social development programs were shaped by the communities in which they operated, by the backgrounds and convictions of individual corporation staff members, and by the Canada NewStart program objectives at the time plans were being laid.

A. THE PROJECT AREAS

NewStart project areas were selected by the provinces and approved by the funding agency. All were high-unemployment, low-income areas, although one included a 'boom town'.

The project area of each of the three Maritime corporations was a county. All three were largely rural, with one or two towns in each providing shopping and other services and a limited amount of industrial employment. All had a substantial amount of coastline, so that fishing as well as farming provided some income. The people of the Prince Edward Island county selected were largely of Anglo-Saxon ancestry, the people of the New Brunswick county almost entirely Acadian French, and the people of the Nova Scotia county about 40 per cent Acadian and 60 per cent English.

The project area of each of the three western corporations included a large Indian and Métis population. The Saskatchewan project area was unique because it was urban. Alberta and Manitoba project areas were largely rural, although the Manitoba area included one town and the Alberta area several. There was industrial activity within both the Manitoba and Alberta project areas, but the native population participation in it was limited; the residents of the isolated reserves and settlements existing largely on welfare, supplemented by limited income from fire-fighting, fishing and hunting. The first language of the native people in all three western project areas is Cree.

Chipewyan, or Saulteaux. The command of English of the people on reserves and in Métis settlements and of newcomers to the city is extremely limited.

B. INDIVIDUAL INFLUENCE ON SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

One of the first persons employed by Alberta NewStart was a man who had lived and worked for years among Indian and Métis people as a social animator. His education was acquired on the Indian reserves and in the Métis settlements of the Canadian west; his teachers had been the Indian and Métis people. He thus had an intimate knowledge of the people who were to be the target population of the corporation. His initial task, in which he was assisted by a native who had had experience as a community worker with a native association, was to go to the reserves and settlements and tell them about NewStart. The two men found their task altogether too large, and more staff (all natives) were employed to assist them. It was soon apparent that these men required training, and the social animator was made responsible for training and supervising what became a team of community counsellors. When Manitoba NewStart was incorporated, he went to Manitoba to assemble and train a similar team of (mainly) native community workers.

Saskatchewan NewStart embarked on the social development program described in their first annual report, but a management change resulted in the alienation of the social development program and concentrated all efforts on development and testing of life skills, basic education, and other course materials.

About a year after its incorporation, Nova Scotia NewStart hired a social worker to prepare case studies of trainees and their families; this man was, however, more interested in developing a program which would get low-income individuals to participate in self-help community activities. Nova Scotia NewStart's social development program was largely the product of his education in social work, his experience, and his reading. His model was influenced by Boucher [16] and Weissman [57], among others.

The community action component of Prince Edward Island NewStart's community centres was also largely the product of one staff member with social work education and experience. It did not, however, as strongly reflect one man's thinking because the community centres were multi-purpose and staff changes influenced their programs.

The New Brunswick NewStart regional development program is unique because it was conceived and developed by research staff, working with a consultant (Dr. Paul Eberts of Cornell University) whose model of social change the corporation is testing. Although many of the components of this model are similar to those developed by social workers, the product is quite different.

C. THE TIME FACTOR

A third factor influencing the shape of social development programs in the different NewStart corporations was timing: the first NewStart was incorporated in June 1967; the last in July 1969. During these two years there was a shift in emphasis; those incorporated in 1967 proposed programs of community or social development in their plans for 1968, but the emphasis was on occupational training. Two of the corporations (Alberta and Prince Edward Island) proposed community or social development as components of larger programs. Only Saskatchewan and Nova Scotia corporations proposed specific programs directed entirely toward social development, and only Saskatchewan's program got off the ground in 1968. It was short-lived, because a new executive director did not feel that anything new was being tested or likely to be learned. What the Nova Scotia directors refer to as the exploratory phase of their program was begun late in 1968, but plans were not completed and approved until May 1970, one month after the corporation's research director became co-director of the program.

Research input into early NewStart programs was limited, mainly because of difficulties in recruiting research staff. While the staff were being assembled, the corporations were obliged to produce plans for the funding agency. They also felt pressure from the project areas to provide training and other services as evidence that some of the vast sums which local politicians said would be spent in their constituencies, was going toward training and other assistance for these people. As a result, many programs were developed and implemented with minimal research input. In some cases research staff were asked to devise means of evaluating programs already in operation. This led to difficulties and to conflict between research and program staffs.

The later NewStart corporations were able to benefit from the experiences of the earlier corporations; few, if any, major programs were developed without research input. This did not eliminate conflict, but did result, in one corporation, in the development of a truly research-oriented program. The social development component of the other corporation (Manitoba) was under the direction of the social animator who had helped to develop the community action component of the Alberta NewStart program. He proceeded along similar lines here, but in New Brunswick a different type of program emerged. This was not entirely because the program was undeveloped until research expertise was available; conditions in the project area and the shift in emphasis in objectives of the Canada NewStart program were other factors. Employment opportunities in the project area were almost non-existent. Jobs were created (in education and fishing), but the corporation was reluctant to train persons for non-existent employment. In 1967, when the objective was to train people for stable and rewarding employment, it would have been difficult to devise an acceptable program for

Kent County, New Brunswick, but by 1969 the objective had changed to the point where it could be defined by a research consultant with the funding agency as a “constructive change in the quality of life of those now living in disadvantaged conditions” and a modification not only of the individual but of “the community in which the program operates” [56]. In spite of opposition from the funding agency, from within the corporation, and from the project area, New Brunswick NewStart was able to obtain approval of and to implement a program whose objective was community modification.

PART IV

Program Design

As indicated, all six corporations did some work in community or social development. Some corporations developed entire programs with the specific or major objective of social or community development; in other corporations social development was a component of a program which also had training or other objectives. This part will deal with the design of these programs in broad terms.

A. SASKATCHEWAN NEWSTART: NORDALE PROJECT

This was the first social development project developed and implemented by a NewStart corporation. The need for such a project was articulated in Saskatchewan NewStart's proposed program for 1968, and during the year a program was designed which appeared in plans for 1969. The object of this project—the Nordale Project—was to develop methods for use in a rural slum to increase employment and income, improve housing and education and recreational facilities, and reduce social assistance payments to the community as a whole. The design called for a socio-economic systems analysis of the community as well as a target population analysis, followed by intervention in the three areas of community organization, job development, and human resource development.

The program called for the recruitment and training of native people for front-line service in all of the above areas. These people would stimulate the members of a community club to identify problems and effect solutions; motivate individuals to participate in training courses and facilitate placement through liaison with the business community; provide counselling and guidance services; conduct a family program geared toward stabilization of the family or toward compensation for such deficiencies as fatherless homes; concentrate on multi-problem families to reinforce the family units; and teach life skills using the community as the classroom [47].

B. ALBERTA NEWSTART: COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Alberta NewStart defined its approach to the problems of Indians and Métis in its proposal for programs for 1968. The corporation proposed to design a program for the acculturation, and the social and vocational development, of the people with whom it was concerned. Thus social development was to be one component of a program which would include both acculturation and vocational development. As with the Nordale Project, the first phase would be intensive surveys [4].

In its Annual Review for 1968, and the Plan of Operations for 1969, Alberta NewStart identified the following components for a mobile centre training project:

- Basic education
- Community and family counselling
- Home economics
- Trades training.

From the above statements, the social development component of the project may seem to be concerned only with counselling. However, this 'component' has a separate section on community development which is itself referred to as a component. This suggests that the original component on social development has grown to something like a separate program, with its own set of objectives. Among these objectives we may identify the evaluation of the community development process, information about the NewStart program, feedback to NewStart staff, interpretation of employment and other realities, awareness of rights and responsibilities, respect for native culture, identification and strengthening of relationships between the communities and their allies in the larger society, and the encouragement of participation in community programs.

The program provided for a different approach in each community. There was to be total community involvement in one; involvement of NewStart trainees and their families in another; and only information giving and support upon request in another. Methods and techniques to be used included regular meetings with groups and individuals, group discussion techniques, films, extensive use of resource people from both within and outside the target communities, preparation of picture reports depicting life and conditions within particular communities. As in the Nordale Project, the program was to be carried out by native people [6].

C. MANITOBA NEWSTART: COMMUNITY EDUCATION

Manitoba NewStart designed a program of community education with the long-term objective of developing increased mobility. Some of the intermediate objectives, listed below, are social development objectives:

1. to identify and examine other programs directed toward solving problems of social transition, relocation, motivation, education and skill development of the underprivileged, co-ordination of supporting systems;
2. to seek co-ordination and co-operation with other agencies for the purposes of sharing resources and experience, avoiding duplication, and presenting a unified and credible image to community members;
3. to develop, in co-operation with other agencies, community education programs directed toward social and economic betterment;
4. to establish a close working relationship between socially and economically depressed rural communities and urban-industrial communities;
5. to co-ordinate corporation resources in the development and implementation of the project;
6. to sustain community education programs during the lifetime of the corporation.

Communities were selected according to information and research. Three categories of field staff worked in these communities:

co-ordinators: to live in the project communities and serve as key community co-ordinators in the development and implementation of education, organization, and relocation programs;

counsellors: to move between project communities and provide assistance and counselling;

technicians: to co-ordinate education program scheduling, be responsible for the use of audio-visual materials, assist instructors and trainees, and gather special materials when requested [28].

D. PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND NEWSTART: COMMUNITY SERVICE CENTRES

The Prince Edward Island NewStart social development program was built around community service centres established in the project area in communities where the standard of living was particularly low.

The major objectives of the program were:

- to increase utilization of services of helping agencies;
- to improve communication among helping agencies;

to motivate community members to a better response to community needs;

to increase utilization of the resources of Prince Edward Island NewStart.

Each centre had counselling, family assistance and child care, and community action projects.

The major objective of the community action project was to encourage members to become committed to the goal of a better community life. To this end, a corporation-trained indigenous community worker was assigned to each centre. Initially he was to work with the homemaker service in seeking out and giving assistance in solving family problems; at the same time, he was to gain goodwill and begin to identify community problems and opinion leaders. Priorities could then be established in line with needs identified by each community; long-term and short-term goals could be set; and communities could be organized to work together to achieve these goals. Members of the community would make the decisions. Attempts would be made to involve as many as possible of those most affected in decision-making.

Community workers would be supervised by a social worker (M.S.W.). A project officer would assist each community in organizing for action.

Transportation, office machinery, and funds for advertising, mailing, etc., would be made available to members of community organizations. Consultants would also be available as required [41].

E. NOVA SCOTIA NEWSTART: SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

Nova Scotia NewStart's social development project was designed to help low-income groups participate in solving their problems of disadvantage. The model for program intervention was the community development approach which assumes sufficient leadership in any community to make effective self-help programs possible. Neighbourhood organization, self-esteem, confidence, and community feeling were expected to grow through participation. The non-poor were expected to participate, but as helpers, not as determiners of needs and solutions [36]. In all seven components were specified:

Training

Neighbourhood organization

Small self-help groups

Social agency involvement

Larger community involvement

Study of constraints

Evaluation

Persons interested in community problems were taught to define issues and to become aware of strategies for dealing with them; they were to learn about effective interpersonal behaviours and social and community processes and to participate in leadership training courses. The purpose of the neighbourhood organization was the involvement of as many as possible in problem-solving efforts. Small self-help groups were to bring together persons with common goals. Social agencies were to be involved, hoping to encourage full participation of the disadvantaged group in solving their own problems. The larger community was to be involved so it could be informed and could work with the disadvantaged as assistants, advisors, instructors, and enablers. A study of constraints imposed on the disadvantaged community by the larger community was felt essential to solving the resulting problems [37].

F. NEW BRUNSWICK NEWSTART: PLANNED SOCIAL CHANGE

New Brunswick NewStart's major program is one of planned social change, using the macro-systems model of Dr. Paul Eberts. This model, described by Dr. Eberts as an action-oriented model of community change and development, postulates causal relations between structural change and such desired outcomes as increased income. The principal structural variables are linkages (to other communities and/or to a more inclusive regional or national political economy), fluidity (equal access to the power process), and differentiation (variety in services or differentiated specialization). All New Brunswick NewStart interventions have been defined as linkages, which, in turn, have been defined as follows [51]:

Linkages are the potential methods that individuals and organizations of one community have for transacting resources with individuals and organizations in other communities; they are the formal channels of access that a community has to resources outside its boundaries; they are the structural means which people need in order to construct orderly and profitable transaction at a distance. The resources we refer to are monetary, informational, technological, and political.

The significance of linkages in relation to social change has been expressed by Dr. Eberts [22] as:

... the fundamental stimulus to social change comes through the appearance of a new formal-organization-type linkage between it (the community) and some other community or communities, be they rural or urban.

The program design calls for linkages having different mixes of technological, informational, and political-ideological resources for six communities

in the project area. In one community, the objective is to increase linkages by increasing the flow of information into the community; in another, to produce structural change through a multi-component program; in another, to study the impact of an employment grant on the community; in another, to provide linkages to introduce new technology and new means of earning a livelihood and to stimulate their adoption; in another, to support and increase the level of fluidity; and in the sixth to measure the effects of a life skills course on community structural variables [51].

PART V

Research Design

In one corporation, New Brunswick, the research design is an integral part of program design. In others the relationship is not so clear; program and research personnel appear, in some instances and in some stages of development, to have worked almost in isolation toward two different objectives: a helping (or service) objective and a research objective. In all cases, however, there were plans for analysis or evaluation. This report will only outline the research design of six social development programs. A separate report describes the strategies devised by the different corporations to measure and test the effectiveness of their programs.

A. NORDALE

This early Saskatchewan NewStart project was to be based on socio-economic systems and target population analysis [47]. The first analysis was of the following systems: education, employment, family welfare, health service, housing, economic development, consumer information and credit, legal services, social. The target population analysis was to identify such groups as female heads of households and unemployed young males and ask them such questions as: Where do you go for advice? What services do you need? How satisfied are you with existing programs? Why do you take part in training programs?

There was no intention of measuring the program's effectiveness; this was, no doubt, a factor in the decision to discontinue it even before the analysis was made.

B. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

In Alberta NewStart, community or social development was a component of a system for the acculturation, social and vocational development

of the target population. The proposed plan of operations for 1968 includes the following section on measurement and evaluation[4]:

(i) *Experimental Design*

The project provides an ideal situation for experimentation and evaluation of alternative methods of instruction, guidance, curricula, course lengths, attitudinal change, and *social development*¹. Experimental groups from each of the three centres² can be exposed to different treatments and results compared in terms of behavioural change. Control groups and criterion variables for evaluation can be selected on the basis of the surveys planned for early 1968.

The program will be designed to evaluate a number of principles and concepts which are considered fundamental to any program for the training of disadvantaged peoples. Among these are:

(ii) The principle that cultural change and social adaptation must be provided in the community where the target populations lives . . .

(iii) The principle that the family is the appropriate unit for the accomplishment of social and cultural adaptation . . .

(iv) The principle of trainee oriented standards of entrance to, progress in, and exit from training courses is an innovative approach to programs directed at the disadvantaged.

The project was implemented before all the measuring devices necessary to implement the research had been designed. Two years after the above was written, evaluation of some components including community development, still depended on narrative reports [8]. A paper prepared in September 1971 ignored the community development component, stating that "The total program comprised three sub-components: academic upgrading, basic life skills, and prevocational training" (12).

C. COMMUNITY EDUCATION

Manitoba NewStart's Plan of Operations for 1971-72 includes a lengthy section on evaluation of the community education project. In summary, the plan for evaluation called for [28]:

1. Identification of guide points by project staff, based on their community studies.
2. Rating these points at the end of one year by current importance and extent used in the community project.
3. Assessment of these guiding points by project staff.

¹ Our italics.

² Training centres in three native communities.

4. Measurement of correlations between the two sets of assessments (after efforts have been made to reconcile outstanding discrepancies).
5. Obtaining, at two-month intervals, through open-ended questions, detailed impressions from staff of other agencies. These to be categorized and turned into prime measures.
6. Estimating degrees of success in achieving co-ordination and co-operation with other agencies made by project staff, other-agency staff, by a 100-person sample of members of the donor communities and a sample of members of receiving communities and all persons over 14 involved in relocation.¹.
7. Establishment of criteria for evaluating structured community education, in co-operation with other agencies and "achieve a monthly evaluation cycle".
8. Evaluation of the working relationship and success of specific endeavors between selected depressed rural communities and urban-industrial communities.
9. Measurement, by a number of criteria, of the extent of support and co-operation of corporation staff.
10. Evaluation of procedures for selecting clientele.
11. Evaluation of criteria for selecting communities.
12. Evaluation of staff suitability (largely by evidence of harmonious working relationships with other corporation staff, other-agency staff, and service recipients).

D. COMMUNITY SERVICE CENTRES

The community service centres established by Prince Edward Island NewStart were to test two major hypotheses [41]:

1. That area helping agencies would be used more frequently than before, as measured by pre- and post-tabulations of case loads, referrals (other than by NewStart) and by an increase in types of service provided.
2. That area helping agencies would significantly increase lateral communications, measured by pre- and post-tabulations of cross referrals and by mid- and post-tabulations of agency requests for information and assistance from NewStart.

¹ Relocation was the long-term objective of this project.

Variables were to be measured as follows:

Variable:

Quality of living

Measures:

Subjective, by NewStart observers

Tabulations of home modernization

Description of community service modernization

Tabulations of improvements in diet, clothing, furniture, etc.

NewStart's reception and utilization rate

Subjective analysis of public image

Record of walk-ins for counselling

Comparison of intellectual and psychological attributes of subjects reached by the centres with those reached by other means

Record of new and increased demands on corporation staff

Response to community needs and effective community action (pre-measures of all, post-measures of some)

Description of community

Measure of public services available

Sources of income

Community organizations

Individual leadership

Commuters in and out

Tourists (number)

Exports

Commercial, financial, and governmental services

Opinion about the community (internal and external)

Value of counselling service

Agency use before and after contact

If warranted, degree to which corporation public relations, centre hours, and inhibitions of target population affect use of centre

Value of family assistance

(measure of minor hypothesis not significant for purposes of this report).

The following means were to be used for data collection and analysis:

1. Charts categorizing all problems encountered.
2. Charts recording all contacts and showing reason for contact, form of assistance indicated, whether or not assistance was given, final disposition of contact.
3. Charts showing the demographic, intellectual, and psychological attributes of all those having on-site treatment. These data to be analyzed to determine the significant difference, if any, between persons treated on-site and those reached by other means.
4. Charts, based on standard home management science measures, presenting pre- and post-tabulations of home improvements and improvements in diet, clothing, and furnishings. Similar charts to present community service improvements.
5. Charts and descriptive reports to present data for measurement of community needs and action.
6. Informal reports: anecdotal information, information received directly from clients, reaction of groups to the centres, observation by other corporation personnel, "longitudinal reports of change in behaviour and attitude factors, included in the normal reporting system".

E. SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

A "possible" research design was included in Nova Scotia NewStart's plan to examine ways to facilitate the participation of the disadvantaged in a community and the constraints on their effectiveness. Because there is no record of another design having been produced, we reproduce this design on page 24 as the design that was actually followed. It is quite simple: changes caused by each program component were measured by pre- and post-tests of participants and non-participants. The design provides for measurement of change in a control community as a possibility only; in actual use there was no control community.

F. PLANNED SOCIAL CHANGE

New Brunswick NewStart's social change project is an integrated research and action program, whose main aim is verification of a series of hypotheses about the processes of community social change. Four functions of research strategy are identified:

Processing of data. Using a method suggested by the structural-change theory to analyze economic, social, environmental, and geographical information. Using the processed data to arrive at a typology of communities, of activities, and needs. Basic statistical methods: ranking, scaling, factor analyzing.

Table 1. A Research Paradigm Possibility for Project 821 to Evaluate Differential Effect of Program Intervention [21]

Treatment	Criterion Variables	Yarmouth Community						Control Community			
		Participants		Non-Participants		Non-Participants		Pre		Post	
		Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
1. Training Program for Local Community Workers	1. Community Worker knowledge and skills	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓
2. Social Agency personnel support program: group discussion and participation in study of agency practices	2. Social agency personnel knowledge, attitudes, and practices	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓
3. Information to community and consultation to organizations and associations	3. Community attitudes to disadvantaged	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓
4. Stimulation and assist participation of disadvantaged residents in groups, neighbourhood organizations and community	4. Disadvantaged resident community participation index	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	✓	✗	✗	✓	✗

5. Stimulation and assist participation of disadvantaged residents in groups, neighbourhood organization and community	5. Disadvantaged community awareness	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗	✓	✓	✗
6. Stimulation and assist participation of disadvantaged residents in groups, neighbourhood organization and community	6. Change in attitudes of disadvantaged	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗	✓	✓	✗
7. Provide guidance re creation of effective organization (information, leadership training procedures)	7. Accomplishment index of neighbourhood organization	✓	✓	✗	✓	✗	✓	✓	✗

Definition of program. Using the above analysis to determine the nature of action in the selected communities.

Evaluation. The effect the action has on income and social indicators (termed valued outputs). Evaluation to proceed at three conceptual levels:

- a. Internal. Evaluation of the implementing process, with reference principally to traditional criteria (such as the performance of students in a test).
- b. External. Evaluation to determine whether or not the action implemented is indeed a method of manipulating a particular predetermined structural variable.
- c. Global. Evaluation to determine the relationship between the structural change produced and other structural variables; changes in them; direction of causality, and impact on valued outputs. (To evaluate this level the total impact of NewStart and other interventions such as provincial government policies, DREE grants, highway construction, zoning, park construction, etc., must be considered.)

Feedback. Using feedback from researchers and practitioners to produce an improving theoretical formulation.

All this is designed to lead to a tested working model with quantification of the structural change processes. The most significant potential product is an accurate measurement of the key variables of the change process over a substantial period. This will establish the mathematical reliability for the quantification of the process, which can then be recommended for replication with some assurance [31].

PART VI

Implementation

Manitoba NewStart's community development plans were never implemented. Saskatchewan NewStart's Nordale Project operated briefly before it was decided that it had no potential value as an experimental or demonstration project. Thus, although all six corporations had plans for social or community development programs, only four carried them out, and only four will be considered in the rest of this report.

A. LOCATION

All four social or community development programs were carried out in selected villages and towns in the project areas.

Locations for *Prince Edward Island* NewStart's community service centres were selected according to the following criteria:

population large enough to form an action group;

community able to satisfy most of an inhabitant's daily (including economic) needs;

'satellite' communities;

sufficiently representative of other communities in the project area for its members to provide a cross-section of problems, needs, and strengths.

The communities in which community service centres were located were [20]:

Morell (population approximately 400). Satellite communities: Red Head (a fishing port), Morell Rear and Bangor (farm communities). Dundee (a rural ghetto). Two schools; adult classes in winter months. Old and poorly-

stocked public library. Community hall, bank, two grocery stores, four service stations, two clothing stores, barber, beauty shop, restaurant. One each plumbing, trucking and construction businesses, two oil storage depots; two trains a week, a post office, federal Department of Fisheries office. Business community primarily supported by farming and fishing: farming primarily potatoes and milk; only 25 percent of area cleared agricultural land; balance not classified as arable; no productive forest land. Community groups: two women's church groups, Lions Club, Women's Institute, Allied Youth, Catholic Youth, Scout and Guide troops.

Souris (population approximately 1400). A fishing port, one of two in province equipped to handle deep sea trawlers. Two schools, adult classes in winter months, public library. Hospital, two public utilities offices. Canada Department of Transport. Post Office. CNR. Most provincial and federal services, including Manpower, provided part-time by non-residents. Three petroleum distributors. Seven restaurants and hotels. Seven service stations. Six beauty and barber shops. Nineteen retail stores. Six businesses related to construction. Two potato shippers. Two fish processors. Custom grain grinding and mixing. Pulpwood shipper. Surrounded by sea and by fairly prosperous farming (potatoes and milk) area. Community groups: seven adult groups and seven youth groups.

The community service centres in both communities were located in rented buildings. In Morell, the building acquired was adequate although not spacious. In Souris, the first building rented was inadequate. A second building, renovated to the specifications of the corporation, was satisfactory. These buildings were required to serve as headquarters for community development and counselling, and also as day care centres (another component of the program).

Nova Scotia NewStart's social development project was carried out in a disadvantaged sector of Yarmouth town, a town of approximately 8,500, which is the business, transportation, service, and educational centre of the county.

In 1968, the town had 218 employers who either employed four or more persons or were expected by the corporation to employ this number within three years. Most of the employers feel handicapped by isolation from markets and competition from other industrial areas [26]. Much business activity, being based on fishing, is seasonal. The largest single employer is a cotton mill. Neither this mill nor other large businesses are located in the disadvantaged sector of the town which was the site of the corporation's social development activity. Federal, provincial, and municipal government offices are also located outside this sector. The population of this sector is approximately 3,800, 35.1 per cent of whom are under 15 and 17 per cent of whom are at least functionally illiterate; most are blue-collar workers. As well as the usual organizations, there is a community organization which came into being largely through the activity of the corporation's counsellor-aides [36]. Headquarters for the project was an old church mission building. This build-

ing provided office space for project staff, as well as space for community and small-group meetings.

Alberta NewStart's community development efforts were concentrated on three isolated communities:

Kikino-Caslan: A provincially administered Métis colony. A small but resourceful poverty community. No school—children bused 30 miles. Some agricultural potential—approximately 1,000 acres broken, about 500 in crops.

Janvier: A completely isolated community almost entirely populated by natives, about half on federal Indian Reserve, the other half Métis squatters. A total-poverty community with minimum stability provided by welfare and part-time seasonal fire-fighting, hunting, fishing, trapping. High incidence of infant mortality, alcoholism, wife-beating. White teachers, priests, trading-post operators. Some agricultural potential.

Fort Chipewyan: Old settlement, formerly an active fishing, hunting, and fur-trading community, now largely a welfare community. Very limited economic base for natives, and this now threatened by severe ecological damage by Bennett Dam. Schools, churches, RCMP and Department of Transport offices almost entirely operated by whites. Air and telephone communication. Basic service and recreational resources. Little participation by disadvantaged.

After the program was implemented, the corporation made a statistical analysis of 20 communities, in terms of 52 demographic survey items, to compute correlations between pairs of communities. The resulting matrix, subjected to a standard factor analysis, yielded seven relatively distinct types of communities within the project area. Subsequent psychological assessments of corporation trainees indicated that the communities shown as different types by the demographic criteria also differed in cultural norms and values regarding basic social behaviours. There was also evidence that the Alberta NewStart model of intervention was more productive and appropriate in one type of community than in another [11]. This is significant, not for Alberta NewStart, which was already carrying out programs in selected communities, but for other planners. Had the community typology model been developed earlier, it could have led to a more judicious selection of communities not only in Alberta but in other project areas as well. As it was, it influenced the selection of communities in New Brunswick.

The macro-systems model adopted by *New Brunswick* NewStart enabled the corporation's researchers not only to analyze the relative importance of the different structural variables, but also to construct a community typology by factor analysis similar to that used in the Alberta study and employ this typology in selecting sites for various kinds of action programs. The sites selected for intervention were:

Buctouche: Located on the main highway. Normal services and facilities. One of two communities in the county with fairly sizable industrial manufacturing employment. Almost half of population isolated in the most disadvantaged substandard area on the shore of the county; and not participants in community activities.

Acadieville: A small village representing the most isolated rural non-progressive environment of the county. Situated inland, with limited access to the linkages and services of larger centres.

Richibucto Village: A village very largely dependent on the fishing industry; has been declining since 1964 and now, for many, offers only seasonal employment. Some income from tobacco production in area. Great dependence on outside villages for goods and services.

St. Paul: Low-productivity farm area. Extremely skewed age distribution. High unemployment. Medium high level of commuting. No location advantage vis-à-vis the growth centre of Moncton.

Rexton: Located on main highway. Middle and upper social strata relatively well served, but sizable segment of disadvantaged population not using services or participating in life of community.

St. Louis: Well administered, progressive village on main highway. Lowest rates of unemployment in project area. Expected extraordinarily high immigration due to construction of national park and relocation of park-area residents. Further dislocation anticipated from construction of new highway by passing the village. These two factors expected to create major slum. At same time park expected to bring tourists to area, with new job openings related to this industry.

The city of Moncton is also a site of NewStart intervention. This site was not a subject of factor analysis, and is not within the project area. Interventions relate to its position as a prime receiver of in-migration from the project area [30].

B. STAFF

Alberta NewStart's community development staff consisted of:

Director of community counselling:

A social animator with many years of experience in Indian and Métis communities.

Co-ordinator of community workers:

An Indian with experience as a community development counselor with the Indian Association of Alberta.

9 community workers or counselors:

Indian and Métis, bilingual (English and Cree or Chippewyan), male, education ranging from grade 2 to high school graduation, trained by corporation.

Prince Edward Island NewStart's social development program was a component of a community service centre project. Community development staff consisted of:

2 community workers (1 in each centre): Indigenous to the area, one male and one female, middle-aged, high school graduates, trained by the corporation.

Social worker and community development consultant: Providing professional supervision to community workers in both centres.

Staff for Nova Scotia NewStart's social development project included:

The social development consultant: A Master of Social Work with prior experience in community development.

Director of research: Co-director of the project but associated with it only on a part-time basis.

Project manager: An associate research director, whose chief contribution was in data management and recording.

Director of community studies: Social worker in charge of context analysis.

Community organizer: Social worker, co-ordinator of social-agency component. Part-time involvement.

Research assistant: College graduate with some social work training.

3 community workers: Native to the area, two males and one female, 30-to-45 age range, grade 9 to grade 11 education, training a component of the project.

New Brunswick NewStart has a community development staff consisting of:

Supervisor of community workers: A social worker with experience in community development.

7 directors of interventions in project area sites and in Moncton: These directors vary in training and experience according to the nature of the interventions in the site. Directors in Buctouche and

Rexton are social animators, in Richibucto Village – an economist, in St. Paul – an educator, in Acadieville – a community developer, in St. Louis – a negotiator between residents and newcomers from park area, in Moncton – a social scientist.

Overseer of information centres:

A project area native, recent college graduate.

10 community workers:

Native to the area, most young with at least grade 10 education, trained by the corporation. Five with projects and five with research division.

Many who cannot be specifically identified as community development staff are also engaged in New Brunswick NewStart community development activities; indeed, since virtually all of this corporation's efforts are directed toward the validation of propositions regarding social change and community development, virtually all projects and research staff are in a sense, community development staff. The project is directed by:

Research director:

A sociologist, who developed the research design, who directs the processing of data, the definition of program, and evaluation.

Project director:

An educator, who directs development of program interventions and supervises project staff in implementation of these interventions.

The program is on-going, and there are staff changes as interventions are developed or phased out; it is thus impossible to identify others as permanent community development staff. Staff in the project sites, however, have included or presently include (full-time or part-time):

Home economists

Day care centre director

Director of pre-school programming

Instructors

Librarian

Crafts co-ordinator	
Crafts consultants	
Sociologists	} additional to those mentioned above
Economists	
Community workers	

Although there is considerable variation in the number and qualifications of staff, as in design and implementation of NewStart social development projects, all corporations trained and employed indigenous persons as community workers. The most valuable role of these paraprofessionals was face-to-face encounters with service recipients. They gave information, referred persons to appropriate agencies, counselled and advised individuals, organized and conducted meetings, arranged short courses, obtained and compiled data, and performed innumerable other important functions.

C. INTERVENTIONS

Each corporation approached social development in its own way. Only in Saskatchewan and Nova Scotia were there specifically designated social development projects, with their own sets of objectives and planned interventions. New Brunswick NewStart designated virtually its entire program a program of planned social change and included in this a number of interventions not considered by other corporations as part of their social or community development programs. Community development was a component of Alberta NewStart's mobile training centre project and of Prince Edward Island NewStart's community service centres, although the corporation's evaluation of the latter labels the entire program of the centres a community development project. All interventions regarded by the corporations which applied them as part of their social or community development programs will be considered in the material that follows.

1. LEADERSHIP TRAINING

All corporations viewed stimulation and development of leadership qualities in disadvantaged communities as an essential component of their social development programs. All began by selecting a small number of persons from these communities for training and employment as community workers. There were no common selection criteria. In Alberta (where they were called community counsellors) they were recommended by others in their communities. In Nova Scotia they were self-selected from a group trained as guidance workers (who in turn were self-selected in that they had applied to the corporation for training or employment). In Prince Edward Island they were selected according to acceptance in the community,

ability to motivate others, and persistence in the pursuit of goals. In New Brunswick they were required to have grade 10 or equivalent education and to be French-speaking (preferably bilingual).

Given these general criteria—recommendation by peers, self-referral to the corporation, ability to motivate others, grade 10 education—the recruits were assumed to possess leadership potential. Training, in each corporation, was a combination of supervised on-the-job experience and group training sessions. Group training was informal, using a variety of techniques to involve trainees in discussion of the problems of disadvantaged communities. During training they became familiar with other agencies trying to help such communities. In several instances, where individuals were sent into the field without having participated in group training sessions, some training was seen as desirable.

Leadership training began with the small groups of persons who were employed by the corporations. They, in turn, were to help others in their disadvantaged communities become leaders. The course outline for Alberta New-Start community counsellors required, among other things, that they “recognize leadership qualities” [5]. Nova Scotia community workers were required to develop leadership abilities among those with whom they made contact [36]. The DACUM chart¹, on which the New Brunswick NewStart training program was based, contains the following general areas of competence: “Assist clients in using assets to create self dependency” and “Apply motivational techniques”. In Prince Edward Island it was planned to “count the number of leaders emerging from the disadvantaged population” [20].

There were no leadership training courses *per se*. Community development staff, and particularly the community workers, attempted to stimulate those with whom they worked to develop their leadership potential, largely by providing the means through which leadership qualities could be exercised and developed. Many committees and self-help groups were formed, and several community organizations were created. In one project area an existing neighbourhood organization was used to develop leadership qualities.

2. COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Two corporations worked with community residents to create new community organizations to help achieve community development goals. A third corporation used an organization that had been recently established through the efforts of corporation staff but outside the framework of the social development project. The fourth corporation did not establish such an organization during the lifetime of the project; organizations were, however, established in two of the project communities shortly after the project terminated.

¹ Available from Analysis and Liaison Branch, Department of Regional Economic Expansion, Ottawa.

Two of the four organizations created were established in two of the most disadvantaged areas in the country: a 62-family sector of Buctouche in New Brunswick and the small (30 families) completely-unorganized community of Dundee outside Morell in Prince Edward Island. Both these communities were characterized by an extremely low level of education, a high number of welfare recipients, and substandard housing and living conditions.

The organization created in co-operation with the disadvantaged citizens of Buctouche has no association name. It is simply a group of people (approximately 95 per cent of the population of the disadvantaged sector) working in, for, and through what they have christened "Le Centre Publique", a centre established by New Brunswick NewStart. The numerous activities of this centre are directed by an elected direction committee, all members of the disadvantaged sector. The centre was opened in November 1970, and by September 1972 its accomplishments included [32]:

- obtaining fishermen's grant
- sewing course for 52 women
- active youth committee
- parties and activities for children
- organization of fishermens' co-operative
- day care and pre-school programs
- day care attendant training program
- making furniture and materials for children's programs
- educational upgrading and skill development courses for fishermen
- homemaking programs
- obtaining winter works, local initiatives, and opportunities for youth grants and carrying out programs
- work activity project for welfare recipients
- anti-pollution drive
- processing of hundreds of individual requests for information (1228 during 1971).

The direction committee meets regularly with corporation consultants and staff to formulate suitable projects. An effort is being made to have the citizens assume greater responsibility in the implementation of these projects.

The organization developed in the extremely disadvantaged community in Prince Edward Island was almost solely the product of one inexperienced community worker whose brief training had included little on community development. He began by trying to establish communication with individuals who, although residing just six miles from the community in which he was born and raised, were suspicious and fearful of the people in the larger community. He talked to them about projects that seemed to be needed

in the community. They were in favour of these projects provided they required no effort on their part. We quote the community worker's own report of what happened next [43]:

At this time, we began to study community development with the understanding that we might use this approach in Dundee. I spent a great deal of time in Montague studying the information available on community development. I began to realize that maybe some of the ideas and some of the projects that we were introducing into this community were not good policy, however, the damage had already been done. Now we had to turn around and start our community development approach with ideas already implanted in the minds of these people. If I had known about community development at the very beginning, I believe that our program would have been a more successful one.

Though success might have been achieved more quickly had the community worker known more about community development from the beginning, his efforts were not considered unsuccessful by the evaluator [20]:

By August he . . . felt ready to attempt a community action exercise. On August 4, 11, and 13, he talked with the man who had done the major organizing of moving and fixing the community hall¹. He explained community action, and both the man and his son were enthused over the idea. Together they arranged to have a meeting at this family's home with six other couples to consider more about community development.

. . . After the first few organizational meetings, committees were appointed to investigate ideas that had been forwarded by residents for community development. It is interesting to note that . . . suggestions . . . were almost all concerned with economic issues, primarily the availability of jobs.

By October . . . the worker felt that the group could handle its own meetings. On October 9, they did publicize their next meeting and it was held with the worker absent. From this date, October 9, the group became self-active, i.e. operating independently of the worker, and the worker became a resource person and advisor.

. . . a group was formed, and held meetings, where prior to this no formal activities had ever taken place.

. . . the proportion of the disadvantaged families represented at (the) meetings was felt to be significant, even gratifying, and the leadership of the group was in the hands of the "most disadvantaged".

At this point the community worker turned his efforts to Morell, where a community development group was formed with comparative ease. Two of the major objectives of this group were to bring the communities of Morell and Dundee together and to form a fishermen's group.

The community worker in Souris, Prince Edward Island, was also instrumental in creating a new 'group'. Although Souris is disadvantaged, it is much larger and more prosperous and organized than Dundee. The Souris community service centre was not opened until several months after the centre which served Dundee. By the time work began there a community

¹ Apparently under the pressure from the parish priest.

development consultant had been hired and the community worker had had the chance to study community development. This study changed the approach of the community worker in Dundee.

The community worker began by visiting homes and attending meetings of existing groups. In response to an expressed need, she was instrumental in giving credit courses for teachers and other interested persons in Souris for the first time.

After two months the community worker called a public meeting to discuss community problems which had been aired in private and small-group conversations. It was decided at this meeting, attended by 125 persons, that these problems were not receiving sufficient attention from existing organizations. The meeting elected an executive and an eight-member advisory committee for a new organization known as the Citizens' Development Committee for Eastern Kings.

The new organization invited the premier and his cabinet to Souris to speak about the Prince Edward Island development plan. They sent instead, a public information officer who explained the plan to a meeting of 600 persons. (It was, according to a newspaper account, "the largest cross section of people possible—farmers, fishermen, businessmen, the clergy, teachers, elected representatives from the town, provincial and federal governments, the elderly, the working men and women, and the young".) The meeting put forward almost a score of proposals for implementation under the development plan. The development committee appointed subcommittees to investigate tourism, education, health, leadership, a nursing home, a credit union, housing.

The organization handled all its own negotiations and correspondence. NewStart, as in similar circumstances in other locations, absorbed advertising and mailing costs.

Among the worthwhile activities spearheaded by the organization were:

- formation of a youth group representing all youth organizations in the area
- pressure, eventually successful, to have a senior citizens' home constructed in the community
- study of alternative solutions to housing problems
- pressure (successful) to have a housing authority representative in community once a week.

In all, seven issues were actively pursued: four economic, one cultural, and two general. Government at different levels was approached for financial assistance, with limited success. The evaluator concludes that the activities of the development committee did not result in any improvement in economic status of disadvantaged persons. In fact, the evaluator questions the extent to

which the disadvantaged participated in the organization and to which its goals were those of the disadvantaged [20].

Nova Scotia NewStart used an organization which had been established a year or so previously by NewStart guidance workers, with the help of the social development consultant. The Yarmouth South Renewal Association was created to provide a voice for residents of the disadvantaged area, the locale of the social development project. The existing organization had a board of directors which included persons from the disadvantaged sector and several, from the more advantaged sector, considered as resource people. Public meetings were held; at first monthly, and then as needs warranted. Self-help groups (see following section) were established as committees of the board. Chairmen of these committees became members of the board. Staff of the social development project served on both the committee and the board. As a facilitating body, the main function of the board was to maintain the neighbourhood centre (an old mission which was headquarters for both the organization and the corporation's social development staff) and to raise small amounts of money to carry out activities within the centre.

The main focus of the organization was on housing. The organization was also concerned with issues such as taxation, the clean-up of a nearby beach, municipal garbage collection, playground protection, landlord-tenant relationships, street lights and repairs, and employment. In some of these matters the organization was successful in achieving its objectives; in others it was not. Working toward objectives, members met with the industrial commission, the chamber of commerce, and other community groups, and were in frequent contact with municipal, provincial, and federal government representatives. Project directors noted that the "the board . . . soon lost interest in issues when the authorities resisted taking action to remedy situations" [36].

A development took place here that did not take place with organizations already discussed, where leadership was purely voluntary and spare-time. The chairman of the Yarmouth South Renewal Association, in the same month that plans for the social development project were completed and approved, left his employment to devote himself full time to the organization and to training with other community workers (see previous section). This man was not an employee of the corporation but was supported during training by a Canada Manpower training allowance. This support enabled him to become more skilled and to devote more time to the organization; partly as a result of this, the organization was able to obtain grants enabling it to employ staff after NewStart social development staff withdrew when the project ended.

Alberta NewStart established mobile centres in the communities in which it concentrated its efforts. The word 'mobile' may be deceptive: the centres were made up largely of mobile buildings, but they did not move

from community to community, although there is some indication that relocation was part of the original intention. As it developed, the buildings were permanent headquarters for education and occupational training programs. There appears to have been no attempt, on entering a community, to create a community organization; there was, however, a deliberate attempt on the part of community counsellors to influence community organization and to develop and increase organization skills. This attempt resulted in the formation of a number of committees and, eventually, of two development associations.

The first association formed in a NewStart project site was Alberta Pe-Ta-Pun Development Inc. of Lac La Biche, incorporated April 8, 1970. Pe-Ta-Pun was the result of a sit-in by native people, both Indian and Métis, in Alberta NewStart's Lac La Biche training centre. The immediate purpose of the sit-in was to protest the closing of the training centre, but the proposal sent to the Prime Minister and to the Minister of Regional Economic Expansion dealt with a number of problems of economic development. The proposal asked for the establishment of a paid development board made up of native people from the area to work with government and non-government agencies having responsibility for planning, developing, and managing programs affecting the people of the area. This board was established, with an allocation of \$160,000 in federal government funds, to cover the cost of operating the training centre to the end of March 1971. The provincial government added \$350 a month to pay expenses of the elected board of directors [24].

A second development association was formed in an Alberta NewStart project site in June 1971, the month in which the centre in the Kikino Métis settlement ceased to operate. A proposal to the provincial government from this association, the Kikino Educational and Development Association, relates the formation of the association to the Alberta NewStart community development program in these words: "One of the major effects of the presence of Alberta NewStart Inc. in Kikino has been a re-awakening of the interest, hope, determination, and self- and group confidence of the people to begin to develop their total community, and particularly under their own control and local management, recognizing the need for back-up assistance in technical and material resources." [27].

3. SELF-HELP GROUPS

Social development staff in all corporations worked with citizens to form special-interest groups and committees. Sometimes these were independent groups, sometimes they were part of a community organisation. Sometimes they were small, sometimes large. Usually they were made up of unpaid volunteers; however, five persons identified as potential leaders were paid \$60

a month by the Nova Scotia corporation to facilitate and encourage attendance at meetings and training sessions. The common denominator of the self-help groups or committees was that their interests were those of a group rather than of the community as a whole.

a) *Housing*

Housing committees were formed in all four project areas. Housing was one of the earliest and chief concerns of the disadvantaged sector in Yarmouth, where three groups were formed: two co-op housing groups, whose members built 15 homes, and a public housing tenants' association formed as a result of promotion by an organizer of the Nova Scotia Tenants' Association. The citizens' committee of Souris, Prince Edward Island, formed a housing committee which succeeded in having a representative of the housing authority spend some time in the community each week, as well as in forming a co-op housing group. It is interesting that the people of the extremely disadvantaged community of Dundee rejected efforts to interest them in a housing project because they knew they couldn't afford it. A housing committee was formed in the perhaps even more disadvantaged community of Janvier in Alberta, and this group succeeded in obtaining government funds for both Indian and Métis housing. There is no record of achievement of the housing committee formed in Buctouche, New Brunswick (but this project is, of course, still going on).

b) *Fishing*

The community worker in Morell worked with two groups whose incomes depended on fishing. The first was a group of women fish-plant workers who approached him for advice on forming a union. He met with them and with other concerned parties to achieve the objective. The second group was a group of fishermen who felt that existing organizations did not sufficiently serve their interests, dominated as they were by buyers and government employees. There is an obstacle to new organization in the control that buyers have on the primary producers through trade credit (fishermen usually get their gear and nets on credit extended to them with the understanding that they will sell their catch to the buyer extending the credit). In spite of this obstacle, small groups began to meet, and these meetings led to larger meetings. Leaders began to emerge, and a number of problems were discussed and forwarded to the Department of Fisheries. It later became clear that these problems could only be solved by the fishermen themselves, and the group began to look to other fishing communities for ideas which they could apply.

In Buctouche a fishermen's co-operative was formed, its 20 employee-members being former fishermen welfare recipients now active in an oyster culture project begun with provincial government co-operation. They began by manufacturing collectors, fishing contaminated oysters, and reseeding them

in co-operative beds in uncontaminated areas. The co-operative later became involved in marketing. During the winter months the members take basic education and skills courses, learning such skills as small engine repair and equipment operation. The program of the Buctouche Bay fishermen's co-operative demonstrated not only the economic and social rehabilitation of former welfare recipients, but also modern methods of oyster culture with possibly far-reaching effects.

Before the inauguration of the social development project discussed in this report, social development staff of Nova Scotia NewStart organized two fishermen's associations. These eventually became part of the Southwestern Nova Scotia Fishermen's Association.

c) *Welfare Rights*

The welfare rights committee was perhaps the most active committee established by Nova Scotia NewStart social development staff. Welfare recipients were brought together to give each other support in claiming what they conceived to be their rights. Only five attended the first meeting, but in three months the group had 48 members, 46 of them women. They were informed about welfare and encouraged to extend their concern beyond themselves to the group. Some accomplishments of this group were: supplemental benefits for individual welfare recipients; change in municipal administration of welfare to give recipients 100 per cent of budget requirements if it was their only source of income; improved relationships with welfare workers; press and TV coverage of welfare rights [36].

Prince Edward Island NewStart social development staff also formed a welfare rights group. This group of about 25 low-income persons met regularly during the winter of 1970-71. It invited Department of Welfare officials to a meeting of which members were informed of hitherto unknown benefits. In addition, the group assisted in preparations for the Maritime Conference on Social Welfare which five of them attended in June 1971 [43].

d) *Sewing*

A group of 10 mothers in the disadvantaged sector which formed the Nova Scotia NewStart social development project formed a sewing club. In reply to suggestions that they participate in the evening adult education class in centre town, they indicated that they did not wish to associate and compete with more advantaged women. They obtained donated sewing machines and the services of an instructor. The Yarmouth South Renewal Association purchased materials and patterns.

A sewing group was also formed on Prince Edward Island, with 15 members from the extremely disadvantaged communities of Dundee and Red Head. Bringing them together was considered a major accomplishment: they had never before been organized for group activity and most did not meet socially. Their attendance was good and they accepted instruction

readily. They did not confine their activities to sewing. Programs included finger painting, films, instruction on grades of foods, and cooking.

e) *Recreation*

The group of Nova Scotia women who later became a sewing club first met to discuss problems relating to family life. More and more discussion centred around recreational facilities for their children. Because of real or imagined discrimination in the past, they were hostile to the local YMCA but finally agreed to invite its director to meet with them. He outlined the program and a fund which had been set up to buy memberships for those who could not afford it. They did not want free memberships but preferred to pay what they could. A graduated scale was worked out, and 28 children from the area joined the YMCA at a cost of from one to five dollars each.

Later a boys' recreation committee was formed by the Yarmouth South Renewal Association to provide a program for boys over 16. Some gymnasium equipment was obtained for the neighbourhood centre, and more than 40 young men between 16 and 25 years of age met to use this equipment on 37 occasions. The group dissolved, largely because all responsibility for the use of the building, equipment, etc., seemed to fall on the originator of the idea. He became discouraged when no member of the group emerged as a responsible leader.

Recreation committees were formed in Janvier and Buctouche, but there is no record of accomplishments. The Buctouche operation is still going on.

f) *Youth*

A youth committee was formed in Souris to co-ordinate teenage groups. This committee succeeded in getting an Opportunities for Youth grant for the summer of 1971.

A youth committee was also formed at Le Centre Publique in Buctouche. Among the activities of this group to date have been a local talent night (netting over \$400), film showings, and instruction on drug use and abuse.

g) *Education and Training*

An education committee in Souris was successful in having university extension courses taught in the local high school. Another group, interested in retarded adults, succeeded after much effort in establishing a workshop for the retarded. An initial seven-week demonstration program was conducted by volunteers and funds were raised through bake sales and donations. The group even arranged for their volunteer workers to spend time at the occupational training centre in Charlottetown. Sufficient funds were raised to hire a supervisor during the following year. Volunteers assisted with the program. In the meantime the group prepared a budget and appealed to the Departments of Education and Welfare for financial assistance. An annual

grant of \$6,000 was obtained from the Department of Welfare, and with the first money received the group made the down payment on a house; half now houses the workshop and the other half is rented to obtain money to supplement the grant.

A school committee formed in Janvier became responsible for a school lunch program and other community concerns in connection with the school. "It appeared to be the first time in the history of the settlement that the social tool of a local committee had been used to deal with an internal need and especially to carry continued responsibility for the fulfilling of that need" [10].

h) Agriculture

The community worker in Souris worked closely with dairy farmers in the area when they asked for advice in connection with difficulties and misunderstandings arising from the proposed merger of provincial dairies. Finally a committee was appointed by the Morell Co-operative Limited to investigate the announced closing of the Morell Creamery and the possibility of keeping the plant in operation. Negotiations were long, involved, and frustrating; but the primary producers at least attempted to influence decisions regarding their own future.

A society formed in Kikino, Alberta, negotiated a \$99,000 ARDA grant for a community pasture.

Gardening and land committees were formed in Janvier, but there is no record of accomplishments.

i) Health

Lack of facilities for elderly residents was among the first problems to face the Citizens' Development Committee for Eastern Kings. A committee was named to study the feasibility of building a nursing home in Souris and to prepare a proposal for presentation to the Department of Development. Within a month they made their presentation, and three months later they were told that the home would be built. The committee continued to meet, assisting in the selection of a site, influencing the contractor to employ local labour, etc., and making plans to provide occupational therapy for senior citizens in the home and outside.

j) Day Care

Three corporations provided day care service as a component of community development programs. In Prince Edward Island day care committees were formed in Morell and Souris to ensure the continuation of the service. These committees submitted proposals to government with respect to operation, program content, and financing.

k) Tourism

After several meetings, the citizens' development committee attempted to involve more people by advertising in the local press. Eight people re-

sponded immediately and met to discuss ideas for development; the group became the nucleus of the Eastern Kings Tourist Association, an extremely active group which met every two weeks to identify problems and possible solutions. Some of their accomplishments were: erection of road signs, establishment of the first information booth in Eastern Kings, preparation of first tourist literature, inclusion of area in sportmen's tournament.

l) *Market*

The citizens' development committee and the Eastern Kings Exhibition Association worked together to develop an idea put before the citizens' committee: an open air market to provide an outlet for local products and a meeting place and tourist attraction. The market was established and was successful in bringing people together, in advertising the area, in attracting tourists, and in selling merchandise.

m) *Cultural Centre*

A committee was formed to involve citizens in the operation of the cultural centre established in St. Louis by New Brunswick NewStart. As a result, the centre realized an outstanding degree of participation in several of its activities.

n) *Pollution*

One of the committees formed by Le Centre Publique in Buctouche was an anti-pollution committee, whose immediate objective was to alleviate some of the conditions causing the pollution which was already affecting the oyster industry in the region.

4. COMMUNITY COUNSELLING

The community component of Alberta NewStart's program was alternatively referred to as community development and community counselling. The community workers were usually referred to as community counsellors. An early document of this corporation asks the question, "Why Community Counselling?", and answers in the following words, which include a definition of community development [2]:

The basis of a community counselling program is that "Community Development", or "the meaningful participation of people in their everyday lives", is an essential component of any program, including one in which the goal is determining ways of employing a disadvantaged population through research. Unless such a goal is included the mounting social problems and sense of alienation that are characteristic of our times are likely to be increased by a goal-oriented program rather than reduced by it.

Community Counselling is a belief in the proposition that every individual can participate in activities that lead to a meaningful and successful life style and that every individual has the right to be and to feel human regardless of circumstances.

The report lists several assumptions underlying the corporation's community counselling program. Two are particularly interesting:

Skills in social and psychological survival in the community and on-the-job are as necessary as vocational skills.

Training (i.e. learning or behaviour change) must involve the individual's total milieu and not attempt to relate the man or woman solely as an isolate in the classroom.

Among the goals of Alberta NewStart community counsellors were: to assist in developing problem-solving and decision-making abilities in individuals and communities and to interpret to staff and community people the effects of discrimination, whether it be by the larger society, by government, by industry, or by community members toward each other.

These were social development goals, pursued to an extent, through individual and group counselling and other means, by all corporations.

In Prince Edward Island, social development and counselling were closely interwoven. Although a community worker and a counsellor worked at each community service centre as separate components of the centres, they received their early training together and sometimes accompanied each other when working out of the centres. Counselling was occasionally provided by the community worker and the counsellor assisted the achievement of social development goals; in fact, it is recorded that "... the counsellor must become involved—indirectly at least—with the community development group" [40].

The Nova Scotia NewStart community workers were first trained as guidance workers or counsellors. Although individual counselling or service was not officially a component of the program, the directors report that "... the community worker staff were drawn into providing direct service functions. The extent and need for services seemed to overwhelm any less urgent activities, and the provision of services consumed the energies of project staff and recipients alike. The staff, who were involved with residents with housing and welfare problems, found that emergency problems were so widespread and compelling as to require their direct and continuing efforts to obtain service, deflecting them from organizational activities that were more congruent with the project strategy" [36].

Counselling is not listed as an intervention in any of the New Brunswick NewStart project communities, but there is no doubt that staff advise Le Centre Publique and the numerous committees formed in planning programs and in making necessary contacts, or that information-giving in the several information centres sometimes goes beyond the provision of information.

5. INFORMATION-GIVING

Two corporations saw lack of information as a serious constraint on individual and community development.

Prince Edward Island NewStart explained their reason for setting up community service centres in the following words:

Many services are available to people in rural areas of which the people themselves do not take full advantage. Individuals *require inputs of knowledge*¹ and support by an action agency in order to be able to exploit these services. On the other hand, federal and provincial helping agencies are often eager to help, and their personnel are quite competent to do so. They simply lack the physical and financial resources to actively seek out problem areas [40].

A basic service of the community service centres was to "provide information on a number of public and private agencies and government departments" [40]. Later documents list the provision of information first among several objectives. Information was given not only to those who came to the centres: a continuous effort was made to locate people who required information. The directors of the community service centre project concluded an appendix to their description and evaluation of the project with these words [43]:

What is needed in the future is clearly not more of the piecemeal approach of the past, nor necessarily a host of new services, but rather a co-ordination of existing services, an information program on these services and a good measure of citizen participation.

New Brunswick NewStart sees access to and flow of information as basic to social change and community development. Information is seen as power—only those who have access to information can, if they wish, achieve power. If you wish to create new power, you must give access to information: by setting up new linkages. Almost all New Brunswick NewStart interventions are seen as new linkages between project communities and other communities, and/or a more inclusive regional or national political economy. In five of the project communities citizens receive direct access to information through information centres, each staffed by an indigenous community worker. The following list of information requests received in one centre in one year gives an indication of the response to this service and the variety of information requested.

Table 2. Requests for Information Made to the Richibucto Information Centre During the Year 1971 [32]

Topic	Frequency	Percentage
New Brunswick Housing Corporation	338	27.5
Welfare	133	10.8

¹ Our italics.

Topic	Frequency	Percentage
Unemployment Insurance	103	8.4
Central Mortgage and Housing Corp.	82	6.7
Real Estate	74	6.0
Rabbit Raisers Association	58	4.7
Information on training courses	53	4.3
Employment	49	4.0
Commerce	42	3.4
Agriculture	35	2.8
Dept. of Manpower and Immigration	25	2.0
Tourism	23	1.9
Canada Pension Plan	18	1.5
Fisheries	14	1.1
Local Initiatives Program	12	1.0
Department of Education	12	1.0
Public Health Nurses	11	0.9
Department of Health	10	0.8
Bank	10	0.8
All others	126	10.3
Total	1,228	100.0

In addition to responding to individual requests, two of the centres—Acadieville and St. Louis—publish information bulletins.

The most recent quarterly report of the corporation says, with regard to information centres [35]:

The nature of many of these requests points out the effectiveness of our Information Centres in areas where information services have been offered. Citizens have become aware of available services, programs in which they may participate, etc., and as a result of becoming better informed, they are well-equipped to organize themselves to request services and projects from government and other agencies. We have seen this not only regarding New Horizons and LIP projects but also in efforts by groups of citizens to organize pre-school programs, recreational projects, community centres, etc. Very often the improved information services result in greater demands being made on various government departments. So much the better, for in the majority of cases, these citizens are only requesting service and assistance which are rightfully due them, and of which they have been previously deprived through no great fault of their own. It is most frequent that the urban dweller or the citizen who has contacts with influential people has access to the best services and programs.

6. SOCIAL AGENCY INVOLVEMENT

Two corporations brought together representatives of a number of "helping" agencies in an attempt to encourage better co-ordination of services.

Prince Edward Island NewStart community service centre staff brought together a committee of representatives of eight health, social and rehabilitation services. They discussed such matters as closer inter-agency co-operation, duplication of services, and public information about services. They presented a brief in support of visiting homemakers to the Minister of Health and Welfare, and also showed interest in the day care service of the centres. There is no evidence that, as had been hoped, they considered the use of paraprofessionals or outreach, as in the centres, or that they did more than talk about co-ordinating their services. Co-ordination was not seen as a problem requiring immediate action. There was some evidence of improvement in services but, on the evidence available, improvement is more likely attributable to NewStart than to the established agencies [20].

Nova Scotia NewStart social development staff brought together a committee of representatives of six agencies. An effort was made with this group to interpret the need to involve clients in problem-solving and decision-making. The reaction of the group to this suggestion ranged from "clients will not be able to contribute" to "they would feel uncomfortable participating with us." The group formed a committee on homemaker service, but the committee completed no plans and took no action to bring about the service. Other activities of the agency group centred around clarification of legal problems affecting clients and problems concerning housing. The group assisted with the data collection for a study of social services in the community. Twenty-three agencies completed the study questionnaire. Recommendations from the study¹ were: training programs for agency staff, better co-ordination and integration of services, and assessment of the effects of agency services [36]. These recommendations, presented in May 1971, have not yet been acted upon, and the group has not met since the termination of the NewStart social development project.

7. LARGER COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

A specific component of the Nova Scotia NewStart social development project was the involvement of the whole community. The objective was to inform and involve members of the community-at-large so that advantaged and disadvantaged would have more positive attitudes toward one another. This was not very actively pursued, although efforts within the other components of the program served to keep issues and problems of the disadvantaged before the public. Several more advantaged persons attended meetings and became members of the board of directors of the Yarmouth South Renewal Association. For the most part, however, these were persons who already had some interest in the problems of the disadvantaged. The forma-

¹ By Dr. Blair Shaw, Nova Scotia NewStart Research Consultant, who analyzed the questionnaire responses.

tion of a spokesman group for the disadvantaged gave them an opportunity to show this interest and put it to practical use.

Efforts were made through the community service centre at Morell to involve the people of Morell with the extremely disadvantaged people of some of the surrounding areas, including Dundee, where a community organization was already established. As soon as he felt that the Dundee organization could carry on on its own, the community worker turned his efforts to the community as a whole. He felt that it was necessary to establish a relationship between the larger community and Dundee in particular, so that their people might learn to know and understand one another. Hitherto the people of the larger community had looked down on those of the smaller community; they, in turn, had remained isolated and became distrustful and suspicious. The people of the smaller community sent a representative to meetings in the larger community; they were well represented in a fishermen's group which was later formed.

The community organization in Souris was largely an organization of middleclass people. Although by affluent community standards most of these people might be considered disadvantaged, they were not the most disadvantaged of the community. Some recognized community leaders refused to take office on the grounds that they wished to give new leadership a chance to emerge. Many of the efforts of those who were active in this organization were directed toward helping disadvantaged persons (elderly, retarded), but the goals were, for the most part, selected by the most advantaged. Not unnaturally, they were middleclass goals. In this community it was the larger, less disadvantaged community which was really involved.

In the New Brunswick NewStart project community of Rexton the objective is to increase fluidity between social classes in the community. As a first effort to achieve this objective, NewStart staff and Rexton citizens prepared and executed a plan for a recreation complex. Thirty-three citizens of the community worked on the project, 25 of them members of a service club. The participation of persons from all socio-economic levels of the community was not realized, the involvement here, as in Souris, being representative of the larger rather than of the disadvantaged community. This program is on-going, and future efforts may achieve involvement of all social classes.

8. ADULT BASIC EDUCATION AND LIFE SKILLS

Adult basic education and life skills courses were an important part of all NewStart programs, but only in New Brunswick, where almost all interventions were seen as part of the program of social change, were these courses part of the social development program.

Adult education, in the form of basic education and life skills, is the major intervention in the New Brunswick project community of St. Paul. New Brunswick and Saskatchewan NewStart staff worked together to adapt the Saskatchewan NewStart Life Skills program for use with the Francophone population of St. Paul: not only by translation, but also by an increase in emphasis on community rather than personal skills. These skills are learned not only (or even primarily) in the classroom but through practice in the community. Among concrete community activities of the 25 participants in the first course were improvement of a playground and interior decoration of the parish church (the latter financed by an L.I.P. grant). The provincial Department of Education shared the cost of renting and furnishing classroom space.

An important part of the social animation program in Buctouche is a project involving 20 fishermen in oyster culture. During the winter months these men participate in basic education and skill development classes.

9. VOCATIONAL PROGRAMS

Although all corporations conducted vocational or occupational training programs, these were not part of the community development program except in New Brunswick. The following list of such interventions in New Brunswick, although lengthy, may not be complete, because the program is still going on.

In Buctouche, where the objective is to study the structural change produced by a multi-component program and where a direction committee of disadvantaged persons helps select projects, a number of projects have related to occupational training:

Homemaking courses: 80 women from the disadvantaged sector participated in courses offered by the provincial government. Women from the area visited the Home Economics Department of the University of Moncton.

Fishing: 20 welfare recipients participated in a work activity project in oyster culture. These men are now employees of a fishermen's co-operative engaged in the culture, harvesting, and marketing of oysters.

Day care attendant training program: 24 women participated in a training program for day care attendants.

Local Initiatives Project: 11 women applied for and received a LIP grant. Work covered by this grant was primarily with a senior citizens' home, and the repair and resale of used clothing. The corporation's home economist worked with this group.

Opportunities for Youth: 10 young people applied for and received an OFY grant to carry on the same type of program as above. The corporation's home economist worked with this group also.

In Richibucto Village, where the objective is to study the effects of linkages by introducing new technology and new means of earning a livelihood and stimulating their adoption, the emphasis has been on developing the potential in the primary industries:

Farming: A group of farmers (including fishermen with farm land) were interested in commercial vegetable production. The Department of Agriculture had been experimenting with onions in the area, and the corporation offered to help the farmers to seek financing, management, and marketing. Several meetings were held to discuss forming a co-operative, but the farmers decided against this. The corporation helped to negotiate provincial assistance for study sessions, courses, consultative services on the design and construction of storage facilities, and other matters related to production. It also helped to find markets, and organized a meeting in Fredericton between officials of the Department of Agriculture and the onion farmers. While in Fredericton the group visited an experimental tomato and cucumber project and some became interested in the possibilities of tomato and cucumber production.

Fishing: The corporation is co-operating with a group of men in conducting a pilot oyster culture project. The project is similar to the Buctouche project, but is being financed largely by the men themselves.

In Acadieville, where the main interventions are designed to increase the flow of information into the community, there has been less attention to programs related to occupation:

Home Management course: Information centre staff in Acadieville organized a six week course in home management for 23 women of the area.

Blueberry culture: Staff are working with a local citizens' group interested in blueberry culture.

Arts and crafts program: Staff are also working with a group of individuals interested in producing and marketing handicrafts.

In St. Louis, where the objective is to support and increase the level of fluidity, corporation staff have endeavoured to involve both new and old residents in several occupational training programs. By July 1972:

Wood turning: Three courses in wood turning were given.

Cooking: Two courses in cooking were given, one for women and one for girls.

Ceramics: Pottery courses were given to people interested in selling their products.

In St. Paul the primary objective is to measure the effects of a life skills course on community structural variables. Staff have, however, been involved in two vocational programs:

Arts and crafts program: 30 women participated in a handicraft training program. Several hundred items were produced. Representatives of the New Brunswick Department of Tourism discussed marketing with participants, who also visited the provincial artisans' centre. They held an exhibition of their work at the end of their course, and sales from the two-day exhibition amounted to over \$500.

Woodcutting and Home Improvement: NewStart personnel helped citizens to apply for a LIP grant, which they received. Approximately 60 persons were given employment cutting wood from crown land, selling it to a local mill, and purchasing building products for repairs and improvements to homes of families living on social assistance or with incomes of under \$3,000 a year. Approximately 50 homes were repaired and improved, and the participants received a 10-month extension of the grant.

10. DAY CARE AND PRE-SCHOOL PROGRAMS

Day care and pre-school programs were provided as a service in Alberta, Prince Edward Island, and New Brunswick NewStart project areas. Such a service was almost essential to the Alberta program because the corporation dealt with the family unit, bringing parents and children into training centres; the service was not a part of the community development program. Community development and day care service were separate components of the programs of Prince Edward Island community service centres, but in the eyes of at least one of the community workers both worked to a common end: "I feel that the day care, plus the Community Service Centre, plus the community development program have brought the community together" [43]. New Brunswick NewStart continues to operate programs for pre-school children in two of its project communities: Buctouche, where a multi-component program is operating, and Richibucto Village, where the emphasis is economic and where the pre-school programs were designed to help the working women of the village. Briefly, the programs for pre-school children in Buctouche and Richibucto Village have been:

In Richibucto Village: A baby-sitting service, summer of 1971

Pre-school program¹, summer of 1972

In Buctouche: Day care program. 1971-72

Pre-school program, summer of 1971

school year, 1971-72
summer of 1972
school year, 1972-73

¹ There is no kindergarten or primary class in the public school of New Brunswick.

²This program is being operated, at the request of the district school board, for all children who will be entering the public school system in Buctouche in 1973.

The place of these interventions in a program of planned social change is somewhat ambiguous. Planners do not consider them to be a community intervention, as is apparent in their statement that the impact of these interventions "may be confused with the impact of a community intervention" [34]. They were therefore evaluated separately rather than as part of the aggregate of the corporation's activities in one village. At the same time we read in another corporation report that "feed-back from these programs (pre-school activities in Richibucto Village) as well as from our pre-school activities in Buctouche indicate that these projects are certainly worthwhile and are in fact necessary components for healthy community development" [35].

11. HOMEMAKING

Homemaking, home management, and cooking courses were among the occupational training courses given as part of New Brunswick NewStart's program of planned social change. A sewing group was one of the most successful of the self-help groups organized by community workers in Nova Scotia NewStart's social development program. Homemaking skills were also part of the programs of Alberta NewStart's training centres and Prince Edward Island NewStart's community service centres (the program of the latter includes a visiting homemaker service) but were not part of the community development component. One of Prince Edward Island NewStart's community workers commented on this [43]:

I don't believe that we can separate these two things, some people will try to separate the Day Care Centre, the Women's Group, and the Homemaker service, saying they are different from Community Development. I believe that in Community Development all the activities in the community, anything that goes on in the community, or anything that has a bearing on the community, should be considered Community Development. Community Development does not necessitate contact with a Community Development Worker.

This seems to be close to the position taken by New Brunswick NewStart.

12. RECREATION

Recreation committees (formed in Yarmouth, Janvier, and Buctouche) have been discussed under "Self-Help Groups".

New Brunswick NewStart also responded to requests to organize summer recreational projects for young people in three of its project communities; their requests the following year were turned down, not through lack of participation and interest, but to allow concentration on activities considered more appropriate to the research design.

The research design in another community, Rexton, originally called for an intervention which would unite all segments of the population in a common endeavour. The endeavour decided upon, after discussion with a number of persons in the village, was the creation of a recreation complex. This activity was spearheaded by a local service club, but participation of persons from all socio-economic levels of the community was not realized, because the project became too closely associated with the service club [33]. The corporation's head of project commented: "... we did not reach the disadvantaged of the community nor have we firmly established the needs of the disadvantaged in that area." He agreed, however, to continue the basic strategy of working with the service club "towards achieving needs of a disadvantaged population, in an attempt to increase fluidity between social classes in the community" [34]. Later the strategy changed, and the objective became the study of the impact on the community of an employment grant.

13. CULTURE

Although cultural development may have been an implicit objective of all NewStart social development programs, only New Brunswick NewStart designed an intervention directed specifically toward this end. In St. Louis, where the overall objective is to support and increase the level of fluidity, the corporation assisted the people of the village to establish a cultural centre, with a library, records, tapes, and a "boîte à chanson". This centre is a meeting place, and, according to the corporation, fills a long-standing need [32].

14. MOBILITY

Two of the corporations were (are) interested in the problems associated with relocation.

Alberta NewStart saw relocation as a necessary step for many of the persons in the small, isolated communities in which it operated. Its program first moved families into training centres in their own communities and then into the comparatively large and thriving community of Fort McMurray. In Fort McMurray the families were provided with homes, counselled in the use and care of the furnishings and equipment in the homes and in the ways of the larger, more sophisticated, and dominantly white community. This was not part of the community development program but it does indicate that the corporation saw mobility as necessary to the welfare of numbers of persons in poor isolated communities and sought to minimize the difficulties of relocation by basic training in the home community, and by counselling and vocational training in the larger community. Because of lack of follow-up

information we do not know what percentage of successful relocation these interventions achieved.

In New Brunswick, interventions related to relocation are being carried out in two communities as part of the program of planned social change. In neither community was the relocation planned or facilitated by the corporation. In one community, St. Louis, the necessity for relocation was the result of the construction of a national park. In the second community, Moncton, relocation is the result of real or imagined opportunities and advantages in the larger centre. In both communities the corporation seeks merely to facilitate the integration of the newcomers into the fabric of the community, and to study the effects of in-migration on the community.

In St. Louis a reception-information centre was opened in April 1971, to deal with the problems of persons moving from the national park area. These were dealt with in the following ways:

- information sessions on services provided by the centre and government agencies;
- an information bulletin;
- social activities involving both persons moving from the park area and long-time residents of St. Louis;
- a home beautification project;
- a travel project (in co-operation with 'Young Voyageurs');
- distribution of applications for housing.

In spite of these activities, the reception centre did not become the centre for new residents as was hoped; after a little more than a year of operation it was closed and part-time personnel were hired to expand the activities of the cultural centre for newcomers and older residents. These activities include: work with youth groups, work with senior citizens, tourism development (mainly related to the establishment of a restaurant-motel co-operative), and an arts and crafts program.

A receiving centre was opened in Moncton two months after the centre in St. Louis. Unlike the St. Louis centre, the Moncton centre did not immediately initiate activities on behalf of new residents but devoted some months to assembling data and making preliminary contacts to try to determine a suitable service function. Data were gathered on government agencies and other organizations in the city, migration patterns, power structure, and plans for development of the city as a growth centre. After a summer of collecting data and making contacts, and a meeting with the mayor, service to organizations and migrants began. To make service more accessible, staff moved from an office building to an old mid-town residence. Service now is of two types: direct information service to migrants, and service to organizations concerned with migrants. Requests for direct service

have been limited. Service to organizations has consisted largely of making surveys, and evaluating surveys conducted by the organizations. In addition, staff have prepared and distributed a list of organizations and voluntary associations in the city. A brochure drawing attention to the direct service offered by the centre was distributed to agencies having direct contact with newcomers.

Since the Moncton centre was opened in June 1971, the corporation has tried to interest the federal-provincial joint planning committee in a program of integrated research and development. An outline of the Moncton program was part of a presentation to the province of New Brunswick in June 1972. Such a program should have value not only for the city of Moncton but for other urban growth centres.

15. CONSTRAINTS

The Nova Scotia NewStart social development program included a study of the constraints that the larger community imposes on the disadvantaged community. Although the disadvantaged community is, in many ways, outside the larger community, it exists in the context of the larger community, and some of its problems are the consequence of relationships within the larger system. The structural, economic, functional, and human resource characteristics of the larger community must, therefore, be understood by those trying to help the disadvantaged community in identifying relevant issues or relevant choices of action to resolve issues or problems. For this reason a context analysis was part of the Nova Scotia social development program. This analysis dealt briefly with geographic and historical factors and concentrated on human resource characteristics, comparing the disadvantaged and the larger community on age and sex distribution education, religion, household and family composition, labour force characteristics, and wages and salaries. An outline analysis of power structure, employer-employee relationships, voting patterns, intellectual and cultural life, and resources for change was added to this statistical data. Concentration of power, prestige, status, and wealth in the hands of a few, limited educational resources, and lack of co-ordination in setting community goals and implementing change were all seen as constraints on the disadvantaged community.

New Brunswick NewStart, the corporation which made the most detailed analysis of communities within its project area, sees constraints in terms of linkages, differentiation, and fluidity. The disadvantaged community lacks linkages (channels of access to resources outside its boundaries), differentiation (roles in the economic life of the community), and fluidity (competition and participation). All of these are related to information: linkages provide access to information, new roles are an effect of new in-

formation, and only informed people can compete. Information is, therefore, the tool which maintains the more affluent in a position of advantage, and lack of information is the constraint on the disadvantaged community.

As noted on page 46, information is power. People who have access to information can, if they wish, achieve power. If you wish to create new competitive power, you have to give access to information to people who did not theretofore have access to such information and the power it generates.

D. DURATION

A constraint on all NewStart programs was the limited time in which they operated.

Alberta NewStart's community development program got under way in January of 1968 with the employment of three persons, who operated in two communities. In June more staff were hired and trained and the program was expanded to include the other project communities. The entire Alberta NewStart program was gradually phased out during 1971; by the fall only a minimal program at Fort McMurray remained.

Nova Scotia NewStart staff began organizing residents of the social development project community in 1968, but project plans were not completed and approved until May of 1970. The project operated from this date until March 31, 1971.

The Prince Edward Island community development program ran from May 1969 in one community and August 1969 in another to July 1971.

The New Brunswick NewStart program was put into operation early in 1971. This program is expected to continue through 1973.

PART VII

Evaluation

All corporations made plans for evaluating their social development projects, but unfortunately these plans were only partially implemented. The one corporation which may prove an exception (New Brunswick) is still in operation and can provide only interim findings to date.

The first section in this Part deals with findings made by the corporations' research staffs; the second with changes observed, largely by program staff; and the third with the present status of community organizations and self-help groups created as a result of NewStart social development intervention.

A. RESEARCH FINDINGS

Alberta NewStart's proposed plan of operations for 1968 included a section on measurement and evaluation of an over-all project aimed at "acculturation, social and vocational development of the target population". The social development component was specifically referred to in the experimental design [4]. This project was implemented in 1969 as the Mobile Training Centre project; and one of the first steps toward implementation was the employment of community development staff. The plan of operations for the following year, 1969, included an 11-page proposal for evaluation in community development [6]. The plan for the next year, however, states that "the evaluation of this component rests on narrative reports" and draws attention to the "need for more objective measuring devices". Measuring devices and areas of concern, several of them related to community, are discussed, but during the next two years the community development component of the project seems to have been forgotten by the research division, whose director writes in the fall of 1971 that "The total program

comprised three sub-components: academic upgrading, basic life skills, and pre-vocational training" [12]. There are no research findings related to community development at Alberta NewStart.

On the other hand, the research division of Prince Edward Island NewStart evaluated the whole community service centre project as a community development project, incorporating research findings in a 370-page volume entitled *Evaluation of a Community Development Project in Two Towns of Prince Edward Island, Canada*. The author draws attention to reservations concerning the findings arising from three factors:

1. Baseline data were gathered one year before the project began; they were not collected for the specific purposes of the study; and were not repeated in their original form after the project. Consequently, there is not a perfect fit between the baseline measures and the outcome measures.
2. Subjects were not assigned randomly to experimental or control classification.
3. Much of the data relating to effort and performance in the communities, on which the findings are based, were produced by the staff who conducted the project. They thus had an interest in presenting their findings favourably, and allowance must be made for bias to that extent.

Data on which findings are based were gathered and analyzed midway through the project. The project began in May 1969 and ended in July 1971. Findings were published in September 1970, before which date data had to be gathered and analyzed and the 370-page report written. The reason for this appears to be that the report constitutes the major portion of the author's doctoral thesis.

The study used a format presented by Edward A. Suchman [54]. Objectives were stated as hypotheses set in a hierarchical framework of achievement and dependency. Each was examined on three of Suchman's five dimensions of evaluation: effort, performance, and adequacy. The researcher then attempted to judge how far each objective was achieved. The following paragraphs are the researcher's judgments, based on his findings with regard to effort, performance, and adequacy, of the extent to which the objectives of the community action component were achieved [20]:

Community Action: Immediate Objective

To bring about co-operative action among individuals and present groups and segments of the population of the communities to work toward social and economic development goals which they decide are important.

New groups were formed in each community and new instances of co-ordinated effort between present groups were also noted. In Morell and Dundee

the disadvantaged very definitely participated, and in fact led the groups. In Souris it is less clear that the disadvantaged participated to any great extent. The Morell groups were most interested in economic development; the Souris groups in social development.

Community Action: Intermediate Objective

To bring about and to provide assistance in economic development studies and activities by the community action groups.

A great many ideas for economic development did emanate from the citizens' groups, many of them based on untapped resources in the regions. Unfortunately, few of them were actively and carefully investigated by the people. Rather than conduct a thorough investigation, the first move was usually a turn to the provincial government for assistance and investment. Very few other investors were approached, and no approach was made to any investor other than some level of government. Only once did an investor respond to proposals in a concrete manner; there were several verbal commitments, and favourable comments were received, but these were not followed up with cash or action.

Community Action: Ultimate Objective

To bring about some economic or social development which will increase the employment of community members, particularly the unemployed and underemployed.

There is no evidence to indicate that any new employers or expansion of employment has resulted from the action of these community action groups. No new jobs were recorded. Increases in incomes were reported, but this appeared to be a general development throughout the region, probably related to the open winter which allows boats to carry pulp and unload fish throughout the season and increases the time worked.

Considering all the components of the community service centres, the researcher judges them to be "partially successful". They were not successful in achieving the NewStart goal of discovering new methods for preparing the unemployed and underemployed for more stable and rewarding employment. However, although this was the original NewStart goal, it was not the goal (except indirectly) of community development programs or components.

Nova Scotia NewStart's social development project was evaluated in two ways: by social accounting type and then by analytical evaluation.

The accounting evaluation found that the program components worked; that to some extent the participation of low-income residents was facilitated through these components; and that the ensuing activities had specific effects, including improved relationships between welfare workers and recipients, appointment of member of spokesman group to the town housing authority, an arrangement of rental payment to make it easier for families transferring to public housing, finding accommodation for the aged, and a social agency survey. Several manifest changes (see following section) are also assumed to be the result of these activities.

The analytical evaluation used a decision-outcome evaluation checklist devised by Nova Scotia NewStart research staff for assessment of outcomes of NewStart programs. This checklist provides a frame for systematic and critical analysis, setting out information for making decisions about the utility, disposition, or application of the products or programs generated within a project. This type of evaluation is mainly concerned with the workability of a program, its level of development, its feasibility, its varied by-products, its past and future efficacy, and its potential. Unlike the format used by the Prince Edward Island researcher, there is little concern with whether the program objectives were met. The following is a summary of findings derived from the decision-outcome evaluation checklist:

OUTCOMES:

(a) *Studies:*

1. A social survey of life styles in two neighbourhoods in the town.
2. An assessment of perceptions of goal achievement and maintenance support of urban renewal organizations (a doctoral thesis).
3. An assessment of sense of helplessness and aspirational levels of disadvantaged respondents (by the above doctoral candidate).
4. Context analysis of the county, town, and specific project area.
5. Social agency survey entitled "An Open-System Analysis of Social Services in Yarmouth County".
6. A study entitled "Perceptions of Social Agencies by the Recipients of Their Offered Services".

(b) *Intervention programs:*

The project had features of both service and developmental programs. Service aspects are evident in tactics used to stimulate the interest of disadvantaged residents in problem-solving and developing rapport with the community workers in their attempts to develop group self-help activity. Developmental aspects are those inherent in developing a model and vehicles (paraprofessional community worker training, self-help groups, spokesman group, social agencies group) to facilitate the emergence of leadership within the disadvantaged, to increase their participation in resolving issues and problems of concern to them [36].

Specific program products:

1. Conceptual model and strategies for increasing involvement of the community and participation of low-income disadvantaged persons in solving problems [36, parts III, IV].
2. An embryonic strategy for training paraprofessional community workers.

3. Instrumentation: (a) A record-keeping system for monitoring program staff activities and process contacts.
- (b) Survey questionnaires for use by social agencies to examine service practices; for collecting data on service recipients' perceptions; for assessing sense of apathy, helplessness, and aspirational level (13-item beliefs-and-attitudes); for assessing life patterns.

The researchers appraise these outcomes as follows:

The studies:

Only one of the studies is considered as a distinguishable product. This is the study of life conditions as seen through the eyes of female heads of households from two neighbourhoods. A report on this study, including methodology, sampling techniques, data collection procedures and analysis, and the interview questionnaire, is available [15].

The intervention programs:

Altogether, 210 low-income disadvantaged individuals were reported as having been involved in programs during 10 months of operation. About 30 or 40 social agency personnel, and 130-150 representatives of other agencies or community services, were involved. Some goals were attained, notably changes in service delivery practices and funding to allow the spokesman group to carry on its program beyond termination of the project. Several components of the project were incompletely developed. No replicable training program for community workers was developed, nor was enough attention given to solving the problem of motivating low-income persons to attend meetings. The researchers also note inadequacies in evaluation design.

Specific project products:

The plan for facilitating participation in community problem-solving efforts is seen as a major conceptual product. Results of the relatively brief developmental test are rated as favourable because the components reached at least partial installation; because the target population took part in formulating objectives, and in taking action which in some cases resulted in meeting those objectives; and because the spokesman group obtained funds to carry on its program after the project ended.

The recordkeeping system was found useful; with improvements, it could well be made suitable for wider-scale use. The questionnaires were considered to need further testing [36].

The New Brunswick NewStart program is still going on, but preliminary or interim findings are available. These are findings of change in experimental

and control communities and in the county as a whole from the time NewStart entered the county in the summer of 1969 until 1971 or 1972, as data were available at the time of the assessment. The researchers preface their findings with a classification of linkages [49]:

Linkages have been classified, for the purpose of this analysis, into six categories, each producing different effects on other community variables:

- Government linkages (federal and provincial)
- Linkages to the provincial political-economy
- Higher education and mass media linkages
- Linkages to the national and international economy
- Financial and distribution linkages
- Commuters.

Communities were divided into three categories: those in which NewStart represented the major change in linkage; those in which the major changes in linkages have been caused by business; and those that experienced little or no change in linkage structure. Findings are shown in Table 3. The main findings are:

1. NewStart experimental communities have raised their mean and median income at a higher rate than the county as a whole and at a much higher rate than the control communities (median income rose from 1969 to 1971 by 17.93 per cent in the former, and 5.22 per cent in the latter). Communities with greatly increased business linkages fared even better (increased median income by 37.33 per cent during the same period).
2. Welfare dependency ratios were reduced in NewStart experimental communities; they remained the same in control communities.
3. Equality (measured by the coefficient of variation, an unbiased measure of income distribution) increased in NewStart experimental communities (the coefficient of variation declined by .059); equality decreased in the control communities (the coefficient of variation increased by .077).
4. Participation rates increased in all communities. The rate of increase was highest in the communities with the lower starting point (control communities); however, total participation and active participation remain higher in NewStart experimental communities.
5. Internal locus of control rose in NewStart experimental communities most dramatically. This means a shift from a feeling of no-control to a feeling of control over the future. In communities experiencing increased business links there was a lesser shift. In control communities there was no change in this variable.
6. Health indicators point to improved community mental health in NewStart experimental communities and to a lesser improvement

Table 3. Selected Findings Kent County 1969-1972 Percentage Change [49]

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
	Mean Family Income	Median Family Income	Welfare Dependency	Ownership Cars and Trucks	Equality	Internal Control	Mental Health
NewStart Communities	+24	+18	-16	+8	+ 9	+32	+15
Business Communities	+29	+37	- 6	+7	- 3	+26	- 2
Control Communities	+21	+ 5	No change	-2	-11	+ 2	- 8
All Communities	+24	+17	- 5	+3	No change	+17	- 1

in control communities. Communities affected by new business links deteriorated slightly in mental health indicators.

The findings suggest that NewStart interventions have produced favourable results in all areas measured. Business interventions have also produced positive effects, though not as consistently as those produced by the NewStart program of community action. The major implication, in the words of the researchers [49], is that business growth is of primary importance to all communities, but to insure that the benefits are more evenly spread and affect positively diverse aspects of quality of life this business growth must be accompanied by participatory government action.

B. OBSERVED CHANGES

In addition to research findings, certain changes have been attributed to the NewStart social development programs. Most of these have been observed by those who carried out or supervised the programs; the reader should bear in mind the difficulties of observing objectively something in which one is subjectively engaged and of attributing change to a single specific cause.

It is unfortunate that the program with no available research findings also lacks documentation of observations. Few of the "narrative reports" referred to in Alberta NewStart's 1969 Review [8] seem to have been recorded. However, some observations were noted; most of these were in the community of Janvier, selected because it was an extremely isolated community of very hard-core unemployed. A paper written in 1969 notes that changes were already taking place [7]:

The community of Janvier is slowly evolving into patterns of organization and leadership that were non-existent when Alberta NewStart Inc. entered the community: a school committee has been formed and made responsible for school lunches and general education in the community. Formal structures in the form of organizations such as housing, recreation, gardening and land committees are emerging . . .

A paper written in 1971 reports on the Janvier school lunch program with these words [10]:

For a community of people largely isolated from mainstream Canadian society since the demise of the fur trade, progress involves many factors. One of these factors is developing and increasing internal organizational skills so the people, as a group, and individually, can cope with new internal problems in the rapidly changing social reality that they face. Another is developing skills in relating to, and negotiating with, the various agencies of the dominant society so that this group of men and women can obtain the services available to other Canadians. It is because of these needs that the small program described in the following report is of considerable significance, and a source of justifiable pride to the men and women responsible.

In the same year two independent observers wrote of this community [18]:

Janvier Indian Reserve was selected (by NewStart) because the community is isolated and is characterized by extreme social disorganization, apathy, and severe abuse of alcohol which results in frequent bouts of community drunkenness. Normal social controls did not exist; success was unacceptable and achievement unrewarded. Until the mobile centre was established at Janvier, the community lacked public services. The nearest telephone was 23 miles away over unreliable roads. Chartered aircraft was the main means of reaching the settlement.

... After the reopening of the centre, the group became more active in community affairs. A school lunch committee was formed and funds were obtained from Federal and Provincial Governments. Housing contracts were negotiated with the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development for Indian housing and with the Alberta Department of Social Development for Métis housing. A garden committee was formed, but only one garden was planted in 1970. An old school building was converted into a community hall. Two horse-drawn buses were built and operated daily. Playground equipment was made. The Provincial Government and the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development were petitioned for assistance in obtaining telephone communications. Electric power secured for the centre had been extended to homes in the community. The supervisor reported a noticeable change in the attitude of participants towards strangers visiting the centre. They communicated more freely, asking questions and giving information.

Late in 1972, some time after NewStart had withdrawn from the community, a portion of the television program CBC Week-End was devoted to the medical services at Janvier. One of the natives interviewed said, "NewStart was the best thing that ever happened to Janvier".

That was an unsolicited testimonial. The residents of another Alberta NewStart community, the Kikino Métis Colony, were asked after 28 months of NewStart if they perceived any change in the community. Seventy-three and one-half per cent of the respondents replied that they did. Sixty-eight per cent perceived positive change related to road repair, building and graveling, more use of mechanization locally as well as local employment to run the machines, and the general improvement of the community as a result of projects using Alberta NewStart equipment and trainees. Twenty-one per cent perceived positive change, in greater awareness of what was going on in the community as compared to the outside. Two individuals perceived or foresaw negative change: "Increased drinking because of increased money" and "No jobs to come back or go to".

Kikino residents were asked if the whole community had benefited from Alberta NewStart's being in Kikino. Fifty-three per cent replied "Yes", with an additional 24 per cent perceiving some benefit. Again, most saw benefits in terms of physical improvements such as road repair [42].

The outside observers quoted in connection with changes in Janvier noted "evidence of considerable change in attitude toward community affairs" in Kikino [18].

The Prince Edward Island NewStart community service centre project, which was evaluated by a researcher after about a year of operation, was evaluated by the program supervisors about a year after this. They used a method of evaluation quite different from that which the researcher used. The latter examined immediate, intermediate, and ultimate objectives on three dimensions of evaluation: effort, performance, and adequacy, and from these attempted to judge the extent to which each objective was achieved. The programmers assessed four hypotheses, three of which were related to community development [43]:

use of area service agencies will increase significantly as measured by pre and post tabulations of case loads, referrals by NewStart, and by an increase in types of services provided;

co-ordination of services by private and public service agencies will increase as measured by pre and post tabulations of cross-referrals, and by mid and post tabulations of agency requests for information and assistance from NewStart to be compared with those tabulations of a matched control group; community members will identify community problems and needs, identify resources, establish goals, and become involved in planning, organizing, and working for community change as measured by workers' progress reports tabulated in an information gathering system.

Unfortunately, these hypotheses could not be measured by pre, mid, and post tabulations because little of the required information had been tabulated. The evaluators explain that it was difficult, particularly during the initial stages, to convince field staff of the necessity of keeping suitable records. The evaluators were further handicapped by the failure of service agencies to supply data.

Such records as were kept were incomplete. For example, during three successive six-month periods staff recorded 45, 41, and 72 referrals to other agencies, but supervisory staff suspected that the actual number of referrals was considerably higher.

In evaluating their program the supervisors relied heavily on observations by themselves and their staff. They noted that the community service centre developed a close working relationship with a number of agencies, especially the Department of Welfare, the Rural Development Council, the regional Agricultural Office, the Prince Edward Island housing authority, and the Canadian Food and Allied Workers' Union. A total of 30 different agencies were contacted by centre personnel over a two-year period. At one point the Land Development Corporation asked for a meeting with centre personnel so that good working relations could develop. Welfare workers

began to make regular visits to the centres and to rely on them for information.

The degree of involvement of community workers in planning and working for community change was evaluated by listing a number of new groups which were formed, as well as the action these groups had taken. These have been discussed in the previous part under the headings 'Community organization' and 'Self-help groups'.

Like Nova Scotia NewStart, Prince Edward Island NewStart was concerned about the number of agencies delivering services to the disadvantaged, many of them working in apparent isolation from other agencies. In Morell, 22 families were served by an average of 4.7 different agencies in a two-year period. During the same period 38 families in Souris were served by an average of 3.5 agencies. One family was being 'helped' by 11 different agencies. Like Nova Scotia NewStart, Prince Edward Island NewStart brought agency representatives together, but neither corporation was able to observe any substantial change in service. Prince Edward Island staff found that agency representatives were reluctant to co-ordinate their efforts and gave as an example a decision by the group of agency representatives *not* to present a case study illustrating unco-ordinated efforts on the grounds that it would not interest everyone. The NewStart programmers observe that [43] "The result of present practices is that families and individuals in need tend to receive a piecemeal solution for a multiplicity of problems; they are looked upon as either fulfilling or not fulfilling the criteria for services of a particular agency. In other words, they are expected to fit into neat slots of program."

The Prince Edward Island supervisors' report includes papers by the community workers. Both record observed changes. The following is from the community worker in Dundee and Morell:

The most obvious change in Dundee is in people's attitude toward outside communities such as Morell, and this has changed quite a bit. Some of the people in Dundee have become members of the Credit Union in Morell, which they had not done previously. On two occasions, families have borrowed money to improve their homes, and one man has borrowed money to improve his boat and some of his fishing equipment. Some of them have also been investigating loans from the Housing Authority to improve their homes. They have also had contact with engineers and government officials due to the construction of the new highway to go through Dundee; and have discussed procedures to be followed in the move of their houses.

These things indicate a growing ability to deal with the outside community, and to plan ahead. Both of these indicators of independence were almost non-existent a few years ago.

During the past two years there have been at least 11 families move out of the Dundee area. Some people might claim this is not Community Development or community advancement but I feel, by these moves, people have

indicated that they are starting to realize their situation. At least five of them have moved not too far from Dundee, but, at least, they have moved to another area. The homes that they purchased have been quite an improvement over the homes in which they had been living. One family has moved to Nova Scotia and sold their home in this area. I believe that this is a significant indication that people are advancing.

One determining factor in bringing about changes in these attitudes would be the people's association with the Community Service Centre in the village of Morell. The Service Centre has created a climate of confidence and link of communication between the village and the people of Dundee, and this free flowing of communication has had a bearing on some of these changes . . .

And from the community worker in Souris:

I . . . see many changes that people driving into Souris or throughout the various communities may not perceive; I see physical changes and I see changes in attitudes. People are, generally, not only more aware of problems but showing concern and wishing to become involved. I see no great problem in the attitudes of people to become involved but I see a great obstacle in one sense and that is that there are so many organizations to be supported by a small population that people tend to feel "Well, that group is doing a good job—they better keep on". I have been giving serious consideration to the organizations themselves, and this has been brought up by the citizens' group. I go back to the original thinking of the group when they hoped that they would function for two or three years, and at this point they hope that the organizations pick up the enthusiasm and interest in community affairs that the citizens' group has initiated [43].

Like Prince Edward Island NewStart program planners, Nova Scotia NewStart social development planners built into their program a design for measurement of changes effected. This, too, was not fully implemented, and in their assessment the evaluators were forced to rely heavily on observed changes. Two types of changes are discussed under the heading 'Changes Effected'. The first of these changes in attitudes is discussed briefly [36]:

Changes in attitudes (increased self-esteem, decreased sense of alienation, and a more positive orientation to the rest of the community) were . . . changes we predicted might occur. Though impressions suggest such changes may have occurred, we were unable to collect data to assess whether or not this was the case, so they are not considered further as consequences of the project.

The specific objective of the program was to guide low-income residents towards helping themselves and towards gaining more say in community-based programs directed to them. Here the evaluators note an obvious change and one plausibly attributed to the intervention [36]:

Persons (a small number of those showing interest and leadership ability) in a disadvantaged neighbourhood were provided (and were helped to take advantage of) the opportunity to sort out their problems, to formulate objectives in solving these problems, to engage in self-help activity, and, to a greater extent, to share in several decisions about the distribution of resources controlled by the more affluent community members. In this process, we may speculate, in the light of evidence from results achieved, that their knowledge

and social bargaining skills were increased or at least mobilized. The Welfare Rights Group, for example, did effect certain changes in the service policy of the Joint Welfare Commission; the YSRA, after project support was withdrawn, did, to date, obtain two grants, even if to sustain their program temporarily; and from observations recorded, the group, in even its earlier phase, was instrumental in effecting a change in a decision with respect to location of several public housing units. Although we admit there is no way of knowing for fact whether these changes would have occurred outside of the project intervention, the most plausible conclusion, at this point, is that such would not have been the case. However, to claim significant changes as an effect of social or community development programs of this type, we recognize the importance of not only building into the program a relevant evaluation design but of implementing that design.

The Nova Scotia report does not include papers prepared by community workers, but occasionally includes their observations in footnotes. One of these seems pertinent [36]. The text refers to contacts between the Yarmouth South renewal association and federal and provincial government representatives and notes that some of the requested changes or recommendations were subsequently implemented. The footnote reads: "There has been no way of determining if the meetings or requests directly influenced the subsequent changes. The YSRA, however, say the changes 'definitely were brought about by YSRA or these changes would still be promises'." The chairman and spokesman for the YSRA participated in the community worker training program and was, in effect, a community worker.

New Brunswick NewStart research findings, summarized in the previous section, indicate that changes are taking place in project communities. Some of these changes are readily observable. The corporation's head of projects concludes a recent report with these words [35]:

After three full years of operation in Kent County, as Head of Projects I see much awareness on the part of citizens, particularly in communities where we have specific projects, of services available to them. They are now much more knowledgeable about how to go about fulfilling their needs to bring about a more productive community and to realize a better quality of life.

These changes have also been observed by New Brunswick NewStart community workers, one of whom has recorded his observations[9]:

Before we would attend meetings because we were told to be there by those people from the middle and high class. Those of us that refused the invitation were afraid of meeting them afterwards, because maybe they would reprimand us.

I feel that now things have changed. The people have gained confidence in themselves and are not afraid to discuss issues with people from the middle or high class. They show interest in what is going on not only in their own area but in the village as a whole.

The last municipal election was a boost, not only for me personally¹ but for the interest shown this issue.

Seventy-six per cent of the voters took advantage of their right to vote. This figure is the highest ever attained in a municipal election and is said to be the highest percentage of the province. However, this figure does not represent the percentage attained in the disadvantaged area. It is much higher, in fact *over 95 per cent of the voters exercised their right to vote.*²

The people have realized that they have power to influence the decision of this community. Also, on a more concrete basis, the oyster fishermen who always believed that nobody could show them anything about oysters have learned a lot about the culture of oysters and they are not about to forget it. The women have learned a lot about what is available to assist them in the hard task of managing a home on such a low budget and they are looking forward to the projects that will be getting under way in the middle of July.

To put it in a few words, and these are words that I heard last week, "They have showed us another life, or, to put it bluntly, they have showed us how to live".

A Moncton newspaper recently reported changes observed in another of the New Brunswick NewStart project communities. Under the headline "ST. PAUL IS CHANGED VILLAGE WITH PROJECT", these paragraphs appeared[44]:

A few months ago, the village of St. Paul, Kent County, was lacking in community spirit.

The times were changing—men who had been farmers all their lives were forced by financial considerations to commute to a job in Moncton.

St. Paul became just one thing to many people—a place in which their home was located. And as such they kept within its confines when they were in the community.

Then, a year and a half ago, the federal government program, NewStart, established by the Department of Regional Economic Expansion, moved into the area, and the times are changing once again.

St. Paul may have a mere population of 800 in 160 families, but its enthusiasm could fill a much larger place.

One of the men behind the movement is NewStart director Gerard Arsenault. Sitting in his "office", the converted woodshed of the old post office, he speaks about his work there.

One of the most obviously successful projects is in progress right outside his door and in a nearby rectory basement. It's a handicraft course for women in the area.

Christmas decorations, candles, stuffed toys, jewellery, wall hangings, Indian bead work... these are just some of the things being turned out by the team of approximately 30 women. All are housewives except one.

One woman said she had made up to \$300 selling her work so far in addition to enjoying the self-satisfaction of excelling in her new-found creativity...

Dances played by a local group of musicians, 10-week dancing courses for couples of all ages, community bingo games to raise money for sports

¹ The author, a former construction worker, was elected to municipal office a few months after he commenced work in Buctouche as a community worker.

² Our italics.

activities, and two life-styling (Life Skills) courses that explore such topics as identity, family, personality, and environment are just some of the things the people of St. Paul are doing . . .

The establishment of the first French 4-H club in the province was another project NewStart sponsored. More than 40 girls, aged 10-21, are learning how to prepare good food, how to make clothes, etc., in this four-year program . . .

There can really be no doubt after looking at the facts that NewStart, which also has centres in Buctouche, Richibucto, St. Louis and Acadieville, has been a success in its life in St. Paul.

Facts like in the past year eight new houses have been built and 19 new ones are slated for erection in 1973, four trailers have moved into the area are evidence that the once almost dying village got a shot of adrenalin when it needed it.

A winter works project designed to have 35 homes in the area repaired concluded after two extensions and 74 homes had been renovated.

The entire church was renovated by local residents . . .

More than \$90,000 has been raked into St. Paul by the federal government to finance these winter works programs.

The success secret, Mr. Arsenault says, is having someone responsible to push the projects. Problems only arise, he says, from a sheer lack of information and facilities in addition to lack of leadership at the start.

. . . Mr. Shorten (Executive Director) explained that NewStart . . . does not run its projects for the sake of the projects themselves, but rather to bring about some change in the quality of the life and human behaviour in a community.

C. CARRY-OVER

In the Prince Edward Island NewStart community service centre project report we are told that "the worker should become extraneous if the community process is successful".

Judged by this criterion, how successful were the NewStart community development programs? What remains now that NewStart community development staff have been out of the project communities for two years or more?

In Prince Edward Island the community service centres no longer exist, but the concept of a team approach to service delivery has been adopted, and plans are to serve the whole province from five district regional centres, one of which is already operational in O'Leary. This centre houses health, welfare, fisheries, agricultural, forestry, and other offices. Other centres will be set up in Souris, Montague, Charlottetown, and Summerside. These centres will offer homemaker service and possibly day care service, and community workers will work out of them. In Souris, although field officers are not yet housed under one roof in a district regional centre, a home strengthening group of field workers has been formed. This group, re-

presenting 15 agencies, meets once a month and its members work as a team in reaching out to their clients.

The Eastern Kings development committee still exists as a co-ordinating body for a large number of still-active committees. Citizens are still involved in the workshop for the retarded. The nursing home is full and the local committee is still active. The tourism committee is very active: they have built a log cabin tourist booth and have obtained an L.I.P. grant to improve the local beach. The housing committee is now the selection committee for families moving into public housing. This group is presently making a study to provide statistics to the housing authority justifying the construction of further public housing units.

The Dundee community development group still exists. It sponsors community get-togethers and has spearheaded a clean-up program which has resulted in physical improvement of the community. Homes have been cleaned up and painted and gardens planted. A number of individuals have taken advantage of home improvement grants.

In the neighbouring province of Nova Scotia, the Yarmouth South Renewal Association still exists. Following the completion of the NewStart project, a \$3,300 grant was obtained from the Department of the Secretary of State. This was followed by two federal (Health and Welfare) grants. The association has applied for and received two L.I.P. grants, totalling approximately \$160,000, which have enabled the association to carry out several programs: renovation of homes of welfare recipients, especially those with no father (one-parent families); home management; and demolition of condemned buildings (materials salvaged to construct buildings for camp for disadvantaged children). The Yarmouth South Renewal Association and other community organizations have formed Yarmouth Realty Improvers Limited to build housing for low-income earners. The association was instrumental in forming a co-operative which drafted a proposal to the Department of Regional Economic Expansion for the provision of a community service. The welfare rights group, which became inactive when NewStart withdrew its support, has been reactivated. Recreational groups have been formed.

The board of the Yarmouth South Renewal Association is very active. The association does not collect fees nor record membership, but an estimated 100 to 125 persons are actively involved. Not all are disadvantaged persons, but the disadvantaged have a say in what they would like to see done and how it should be done. Many who became active in the association as disadvantaged persons three or four years ago are no longer disadvantaged: they work more steadily, drink less. Other changes are taking place. According to the association's present director¹, "The atmosphere is changing.

¹ Allison Pitman. Conversation January 17, 1973.

Welfare sees it, Manpower sees it. They can talk out a situation whereas before they just went in and blew their top. They know they can come here if they have a severe problem, and we're going to do something about it. They're beginning to see that there is some help for them. Before they felt lost and rejected."

Since its incorporation in April 1970, Alberta Pe-Ta-Pun Development Inc. has carried on a program of academic upgrading and leadership training. Approximately 150 men have gone from Pe-Ta-Pun to various types of jobs. The executive director of Pe-Ta-Pun feels that this has been accomplished more by an increase in self-confidence than by any other factor.

The role of Pe-Ta-Pun has now been changed by the Alberta Government. The organization will be involved in education only as advisor to the Department of Advanced Education. The focus of its attention will be economic development.

The board of directors of this organization includes, in addition to its chairman and vice-chairman, representatives from six Indian and Métis communities. According to a newsletter published in the fall of 1972, in spite of persistent frustration Pe-Ta-Pun "has made substantial growth and progress". The newsletters of Pe-Ta-Pun are themselves an indication of substantial progress; they are put together by men learning to write English for the first time.

The educational facilities in Kikino have recently been re-opened on a limited scale. An advisory board will assist the centre supervisor to initiate programs according to community needs.

The school lunch program initiated in January has now been introduced to other native communities, similarly isolated and disadvantaged.

The executive director of Pe-Ta-Pun¹ writes in connection with these developments: "Alberta NewStart Inc. had a tremendous impact in this area and that impact will be felt for several years to come. The pity of it is that I really doubt that credit will be given to the project nor will people even be aware of what started the movement in this area."

Since New Brunswick NewStart is still active in its project communities, it is obviously impossible to discuss carry-over at this time.

¹ Barry Jeager, Executive Director, Alberta Pe-Ta-Pun Development Inc., in letter dated February 2, 1973.

PART VIII

Summary of Major Learnings

The NewStart corporations were by no means the first to apply a social development approach to problems of poverty and disadvantage. The man who developed and directed the community development component of the Alberta NewStart program had worked for years as a social animator in Indian and Métis communities. Social workers in Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia applied the learnings of numerous others in the field. New Brunswick NewStart used a model, developed by Dr. P. R. Eberts of Cornell University, which had not been previously tested in a rural setting. Likewise, Prince Edward Island NewStart tested community service centres similar to those serving the city of Hamilton, Ontario, in a rural setting. Nova Scotia NewStart may have brought together a unique combination of program components. The Alberta program was part of a project which brought husbands, wives, and children to a training complex and moved them together to a larger town where they were taught the skills necessary to urban living.

Thus all the social development programs were experimental to some degree, and to this degree they would have contributed new knowledge had the relevant designs for evaluation been implemented. Unfortunately, Alberta NewStart did not implement its design for evaluation of the community action component; and Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia only partially implemented theirs. New Brunswick NewStart can report only interim findings because its program is still going on.

Nonetheless, certain things were learned. Some findings are confirmed by research data; others are affirmed by persons who were closely associated with the projects. Although the latter are admittedly subjective, we do not feel that they can be disregarded. The following paragraphs attempt to summarize the major findings of the NewStart social development programs.

A. IMPROVEMENT IN ECONOMIC STATUS

Economic change was not a specific aim of the Nova Scotia NewStart social development project, and no attempt was made to ascertain whether or not any such change took place. The other corporations were conscious of the original NewStart mandate to move unemployed and underemployed persons into stable and rewarding employment, which was also the ultimate objective of the community action component of the Prince Edward Island community service centres and of the Alberta NewStart program. Five of the seven indicators on which New Brunswick NewStart communities are examined are economic.

The Prince Edward Island research evaluation found that increased employment in community service centre communities was "negligible" [20]. This evaluation was made midway through the project, but there is nothing in the later project report to contradict this finding. The research evaluation makes a thought-provoking observation.

The assumption was that any group which investigates problems in the community will be able to discover some untapped resource and will take action to utilize it. But there may in fact be no resource, too little investigative ability, and consequently no reason to take action. Also not to be overlooked is the possibility that even if these things are present they must be of sufficient magnitude to arouse the interest of some other investor.

New Brunswick NewStart experimental communities gained in income at a much higher rate than control communities (17.93 percent compared to 5.22 per cent), but at a lower rate than communities with greatly increased business linkages (37.33 per cent). Gains were, however, more evenly spread in NewStart communities.

Improvement in economic status was an objective of the Alberta NewStart mobile training centre project, but not a direct objective of the community development component. The project, for reasons not discussed here, was rated by the research director as "mostly inadequate" [12]. As has been stated, the community development component was not evaluated. However, in a paper entitled "Proposal for a Second Front on the War on Poverty", the research director makes an interesting comment on the relevance of the economic dimension [14]:

Present attempts to incorporate the disadvantaged into the mainstream of Canadian society have focused almost solely on "equality of economic opportunity". The fact that the mainstream also involves *social and political power*¹ imposes limitations on the economic approach. Even more, the sharp increase in demands by professionals and native-recipients for "self-determination", "democratization of programs", "maximum feasible participation of the poor", and "community control" of human service resources raises serious doubts about the primacy or even relevancy of the economic dimension.

¹ Emphasis in the original.

In spite of apparent questions about the relevance or practicality of the economic dimension in other corporations, New Brunswick NewStart seems to have demonstrated that a program of planned social change really can bring about improvement in economic status.

B. INCREASE IN PARTICIPATION

Increasing the participation of low-income groups in solving their problems of disadvantage was the major objective of the Nova Scotia NewStart social development programs.

The extent to which this objective was achieved is difficult to assess. Nova Scotia NewStart reports [36] that "Some 200-250 (210 reported) low-income disadvantaged individuals, aged 15 to elderly, of both sexes, were involved in programs during the second phase (10 months) of operation". If we accept the figure of 210, then approximately 6.5 per cent of a disadvantaged population of 3,230 (85 per cent of 3,800) were involved. The programs in which they were involved were those of the community organization and its self-help groups.

The Prince Edward Island NewStart community service centre evaluator estimates that, in approximately the same period, 17 per cent of the disadvantaged population of Morell and 16 per cent of the disadvantaged population of Souris participated in community development activities. These figures are based on a survey of adult citizens and do not represent percentages of the entire disadvantaged population. The figures are slightly below those of control communities, so that the community action program does not appear to be effective in increasing participation. It seems to have been effective, though, in the satellite community of Dundee. There was no control community for Dundee, but in this village with no discernible community activity, an organization was formed that drew approximately 50 per cent of the male population to its meetings (averaged over six meetings).

This figure is topped only in Buctouche, New Brunswick, where Le Centre Publique, planned, named, and directed by members of the disadvantaged sector of Buctouche, has enjoyed the participation of approximately 95 per cent of this population [48]. This figure is even more remarkable in that the community was selected as one in which "Lower class participation in community activities has been negligible" [30]. That participation and interest are more than superficial may be seen in the fact that over 95 per cent of the disadvantaged sector exercised their right to vote in a municipal election in which one of their own number, a former construction worker turned community worker, was put into office. The percentage voting in this election is said to be the highest ever attained in a municipal election in the province and may well be the highest ever attained in the country.

What caused this remarkable participation? At this point we can only surmise that the answer lies in a combination of factors. In the first place, Le Centre Publique was "planned, named, and directed by members of the disadvantaged sector". This was also true of the Yarmouth spokesman group and the centre from which it operated. Was there something unique about the staff of Le Centre Publique?

At the time of the high rate of participation, the senior NewStart staff member at the centre was a young psychologist who has been described as a social animator. He was assisted by two community workers whose qualifications appear similar to those of community workers in other corporations, although the one elected to the municipal council also seems to have some unusual personal qualifications. When we examine the program we find that it has a remarkable number of components and includes one project which has attracted widespread interest and which must have attracted attention locally: the work activity project, involving 20 men in oyster culture and off-season training and basic education. Other components of the program are an information centre service, recreational activities, courses for women, pre-school child care service, help with L.I.P. and O.F.Y. programs, a pollution committee, a monthly bulletin on home economics, meetings, and workshops. A list of the components in the corporation's operating plan for '72-73 is followed by this [31]:

The success of this package of interventions in achieving increases in fluidity in the community can be verified by asking any informed citizen. Research will demonstrate at a later date the impact of the multi-component program.

Nova Scotia NewStart social development program evaluators also said that, two and a half years after the program began, proportionately more residents from the project area voted in the municipal election than in previous elections. They do not say what percentage voted, nor do they show that the program had an influence on voting behaviour. They said this would be difficult to prove because of limited data, "but, it would be even more difficult to prove that it did not" [36].

Nova Scotia NewStart encouraged increased participation and tried to ensure continuance of some self-help groups by paying five selected individuals \$60 a month for eight months. "The reasoning behind this tactic was that if low-income residents of the area could become more knowledgeable about organizational procedures and more consciously attuned to the needs of their peers, this would be a step in facilitating continuance of programs that might get started through the guidance of the community worker staff" [36]. Those who were paid participated, and some gave leadership to groups during the eight months they were paid; but when it was realized that NewStart support would be withdrawn at the end of this period the groups ceased to meet, and by the end of the project no groups were functioning. The tactic did have some success, however, in facilitating con-

tinuance of programs: two of those who were paid are very active volunteer workers in the community organization which still exists. There is no way of knowing whether they would be as active had they not been paid for eight months of participation, during which they gained experience and training in working in and with groups.

Something may be learned about gaining participation of the disadvantaged from Prince Edward NewStart experience in Souris and Dundee. In Souris a newspaper advertisement and the posting of notices brought 125 people out to a meeting, but this included few (if any) of the most disadvantaged. The organization which was formed remained a middle-class organization. In Dundee the community worker worked entirely with the disadvantaged. They were organized, very slowly, by word-of-mouth—the same method used in other NewStart project areas. Perhaps the lesson to be learned is that the disadvantaged can only be reached through personal contact, or, conversely, that the mass media reach the middle and upper classes but not the masses.

C. DEVELOPMENT OF LEADERSHIP

Although the Nova Scotia social development program is described as a strategy to facilitate participation of low-income groups, the report on the program states that "the focus was on developing leadership among the indigenous target population to a greater extent than on eliciting wide-scale meeting attendance". To develop his leadership qualities, the chairman of the neighbourhood organization was taken into the community worker training program. Five potential leaders who were paid to participate also received some training. Training was always quite informal; usually, it amounted to the chance to take part in groups, to lead groups, and to consult with project staff. The project directors report [36] that "Much staff energy was used in helping to maintain focus and develop in leaders an ability to look more objectively upon what was happening both in meetings and in the neighbourhood". The effectiveness of the program in developing leadership is difficult to assess. The chairman of the neighbourhood organization and two of the other five remained active in the organization after the New-Start project ended. Others who took part as members of the board of directors of the neighbourhood organization or in self-help groups during the project's lifetime maintained an interest and some became leaders.

The researcher-evaluator of the Prince Edward Island NewStart community service centre project examined the matter of new leaders from among the disadvantaged; he reported [20] that in Dundee "One of the men identified from the human resources survey as 'most advantaged' was elected community speaker, apparently the chief office, and his committee of helpers in-

cluded the original leader,¹ a housewife; and a young husband who . . . was certainly among the most disadvantaged". These persons received no leadership training, but they evidently provided leadership, because the community workers withdrew after a brief period, and they continued to hold meetings and present and study ideas for community betterment.

The same community worker organized a fishermen's group whose members were all considered by the evaluator to be disadvantaged. The worker first talked to these men in small groups, then organized larger meetings where he helped them to examine their problems and to discuss the means available for their solution. After some weeks the community worker recorded that they were "at a point where there is quite good interest, and potential leaders developing, but they do need someone to whom they could turn for advice . . . the fishermen are working very well together considering their lack of experience in organizing their own groups".

In Souris there was limited participation by the disadvantaged, and there is no record that any disadvantaged persons emerged as leaders.

There are no records of leadership being developed in Alberta or New Brunswick, either. Although leaders certainly emerged, there are no records of programs (whether successful or not) being undertaken to develop leadership. Hope remains, in the continuation of the New Brunswick program; the reports have not yet been written, but there may well be something learned about the subject.

D. SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES

An objective of the Prince Edward Island NewStart community service centre project was "To promote co-ordination of services by the area helping agencies, both public and private, through the establishment of a co-ordinating committee" [43]. This committee was established, but the services were not co-ordinated during the lifetime of the project.

A similar committee was established by Nova Scotia NewStart social development staff. Among the goals identified by the committee were "improvement of services, and making changes which would further the work of the agencies". Although some improvement and changes may have occurred, project directors refer to the accomplishments of the group as "possibly meagre".

The main conclusion about social service agencies was that on the whole they are not yet ready (or are not yet able) to make radical changes. Prince Edward Island NewStart staff reported that most agencies do not see lack of co-ordination of services as a problem. The NewStart staff, on the other hand,

¹ A man who consented to have the first meeting in his home.

saw this as a great problem for service recipients, who are handed about from one agency to another for piecemeal solution of their problems. Nova Scotia staff involved the agency group in a survey of services provided to community residents, with the following findings:

- the major source of referrals is the client himself;
- most clients have problems related to unemployment, social and emotional adjustment, and health;
- the changes agency personnel consider would be most beneficial are: reduction of case loads, more financial assistance available for clients, and some new programs or services to serve special needs (only the educational agencies suggested the last).

The project directors conclude that: "The general response pattern suggested that the agency personnel themselves would likely resist any drastic change in the presently operating service delivery system". Reasons for resistance are suggested in a discussion of obstacles to the further development, dissemination, and use of the Nova Scotia NewStart social development program model. Such obstacles, according to project directors [36], seem to be largely those of inertia or lack of interest. "These, in a large part, may stem from the vested interests of those in positions of decision-making; for some of those in this power-invested role, their psychological security might well depend on maintaining their influence role in the top rungs of the possibly overly practiced but existing *from-the-top-down*¹ traditional pattern of providing programs for service consumers. This interpersonal status-role factor militates against the type of co-ordination and integration of potentially more efficient and effective approaches to the solution of social problems.

In spite of resistance even to discussion of any change in the service delivery system, agency personnel co-operated with community workers, at least to the extent of receiving their referrals. In some cases co-operation went much farther. The local welfare worker visited one of the Prince Edward Island community service centres daily. A welfare worker spends two half days a week in Le Centre Publique in Buctouche. Welfare workers (and two Department of Welfare Ministers) met with welfare rights groups. Spokesmen for the Nova Scotia group participated in a meeting of regional welfare officers. The Prince Edward Island group helped prepare the program for a Maritime conference on social welfare, which five of them attended.

E. INDIGENOUS COMMUNITY WORKERS

All NewStart social development programs employed indigenous community workers, briefly trained by the corporation in community development goals and techniques. Some prior training was found necessary if workers were to do a good job in the field. Alberta NewStart sent its first community

¹ Emphasis in the original.

workers into the field untrained and after several months felt it desirable to bring them into corporation headquarters for training. A Prince Edward Island NewStart community worker, sent out without community development training and then brought in for such training, wrote, "If I had known about community development at the very beginning, I believe that our program would have been a more successful one" [43].

The same Prince Edward Island worker summed up what he believed to be necessary characteristics of a community worker in a severely disadvantaged area (probably equally desirable in any area):

I believe a person who is going into this type of community must be sincere, truthful, and honest. He must know as much about the people as he possibly can, and he must try to communicate with them on a level that they will understand [43].

Sincerity is stressed by a New Brunswick community worker:

I . . . had problems in trying to explain to the people what we were trying to do, and quite often the people would say that the big shots were using me. They were also afraid that there was some sort of a catch to this whole thing. For one thing, they were afraid that this was going to cost them money. After a while when they realized that we were sincere in our attempt to work with them the task was much easier [9].

Undoubtedly, many disadvantaged persons are suspicious of 'the big shots'; the strength of the indigenous paraprofessional is that he is not as suspect as is the professional. He may seem to be *used* by the big shots, but once he has allayed this suspicion he and his good intentions are accepted. Not only is he able to talk to the people, but also they will talk to him. This point was brought out by a New Brunswick NewStart report on the use made of its information centres [32]:

It has been found that these centres have become two-way communication posts, wherein the people state their needs to NewStart as well as receive information. Each information centre is staffed by a local resident, trained by NewStart, who can communicate easily with the people of the area.

However, as noted by the Prince Edward Island NewStart project directors [43], "If extensive use is to be made of indigenous personnel, it is important to examine their limitations as well as abilities."

The Prince Edward Island NewStart project directors noted the following limitations [43]:

1. The abilities of indigenous staff lie in dealing with specific problems rather than in the assessment of potential problem areas.
2. The indigenous, virtually untrained person works best under some form of structure with specific tasks.

Nova Scotia NewStart project directors noted two other limitations [36]:

3. The indigenous community worker is apt to be deflected from organizational activities by immediate individual client needs.

4. The paraprofessional staff, perhaps because of lack of training or experience, sometimes fails to act quickly enough to take advantage of a dormant power structure or in making decisions.

F. OBTAINING FUNDS

In all NewStart social development programs, project communities learned how to obtain federal or provincial government funds for community projects. There was great variation in the kind and amount of assistance given. Because the Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick corporations were convinced that disadvantage was closely related to lack of information about the government help available, they laid great stress on information-giving. All corporations saw that government programs set up to help the disadvantaged were helping those more advantaged and informed rather than the disadvantaged. The disadvantaged were, on the whole, not reached by the mass media which publicized the programs.

Not only information is required, however. Even when they are informed, the disadvantaged still lack the skill to make application for funds. The amount of help given in applying for funds varied from province to province, and the extent to which the disadvantaged became actually involved in making such application is often not clear. Success in obtaining funds may reflect the development of skill within the community, or it may reflect the skill of project staff or greater involvement of professional staff.

As early as 1969 the community of Kikino, Alberta, "was assisted in forming a society under the Societies Act" which "negotiated a \$99,000 ARDA Development Grant for a community pasture" [8]. We are not told how much the residents of Kikino were involved in applying for and obtaining this grant, but the residents of Janvier met with the appropriate authorities to discuss their needs:

Opportunities were arranged for the people of Janvier to meet with government officials, their Member of Parliament, M.L.A., the Premier and members of his cabinet to discuss local needs and problems. As a result, the community, with assistance from Alberta NewStart, was able to initiate actions that will enable them to acquire electrification, a sawmill operation, and improved housing [8].

Again, we are not told what form of assistance was given, except that for the electrification program it was necessary for the company to play a major part in the negotiations. "The inter-agency planning was too great a task for the community to undertake at this early stage of development." This is easy to believe. Janvier was probably the most disadvantaged of all NewStart project communities: it might have been difficult to find a more disadvantaged community in all Canada.

The actions taken jointly by Janvier residents and Alberta NewStart led to the negotiation of housing contracts with the Department of Indian Affairs

and Northern Development for Indian housing and with the Alberta Department of Social Development for Métis housing.

Funds were also obtained from federal and provincial governments to carry on the school lunch program mentioned previously.

The development associations formed in Lac La Biche and Kikino following the withdrawal of Alberta NewStart from these communities both petitioned government for funds. To what extent these associations and their activities were the product of native initiative is not known.

In Prince Edward Island it seems apparent that community organizations were left to obtain funds to assist them in meeting the needs they had identified. The goal of the community workers was to create self-sustaining groups; after they had helped with organization they were careful to leave as much as possible to the initiative of the group members. There is no indication that professional staff became involved in seeking out investors or in making application for funds.

The research evaluator is critical of what he considered inadequate efforts on the part of the groups [20]:

In addition to the Provincial Government, which under the Comprehensive Plan works jointly with the Federal Government, there were two other development investment groups operating in the Island. These were Island Development Corporation and Island Enterprises Incorporated, each of which had development funds available. Yet there is no evidence to indicate that either corporation was approached by the Eastern Kings group. Also, there is no evidence that any other private firm from outside the Province was approached.

The number of favourable responses to the approaches of the community group was equally low. There were three possibles, which means a favourable response with no firm commitment, and one positive response, to the tourist development group, to support a tourist booth for the region. This represents an investment of approximately \$600 plus a two-way radio set up, on the part of the Provincial Government¹.

... When it came to approaching possible investors or promoters outside of Dundee, committees were notably remiss. Though they discussed approaching the province for support on each of their ideas, no such approaches were made.

... at the point where the groups or the workers were forced to turn to the provincial or other levels of government, or to private investors, a halt to development appeared to occur.

The evaluator did not hold the groups entirely responsible for the halt to development. On several occasions plans were rejected by government as not feasible. In the opinion of the evaluator, "feasible" really means

¹ After this was written, midway through the program, an annual grant of \$6,000 was obtained from the Department of Welfare to assist with the operation of a workshop for the retarded and a 50-bed nursing home was constructed in Souris.

compatible with other development possibilities or plans". One proposal was turned down on the grounds that the group did not have enough facts, but, according to the evaluator, "The Province had the facts and figures on any other economic or social development plan proposed by the Community Action groups. But they stalled".

The evaluator concludes [20]:

It would appear that the NewStart activity was several months ahead of its time and that some other activity must take place before the Province could be ready to seriously consider the investments the groups desired.

Perhaps when these other activities occur, the Community Action groups will be able to move forward from the immediate stages of development, where they appeared to be stalled, and attract the kind of investments they feel they need.

Under the guidance of Nova Scotia NewStart social development staff, residents of Yarmouth South applied for government assistance with housing. The funds had, of course, been available to them; but once again, as disadvantaged persons, they were handicapped by lack of information. "Early in 1969 several men were complaining, at a neighbourhood meeting, that there were no opportunities for them to own their own homes because of their low incomes. They were convinced they were not eligible for loans" [36]. They were brought together by a community worker, who arranged a meeting with representatives of the housing commission, and as a result 15 men built homes.

The Yarmouth organization apparently made no other applications for funds until, at the end of the project, it sought funds for its own operational requirements (such funds had until then been provided by NewStart). The organization has succeeded in obtaining three grants so far. Again it is not known to what extent initiative was taken by the disadvantaged members of the community.

New Brunswick NewStart has been outstandingly successful in helping residents of its project communities to obtain grants. This may be attributed to differences in program objectives, greater involvement of professional staff, and the present availability of L.I.P. and O.F.Y. grants.

The ultimate objective of New Brunswick NewStart interventions is not to create self-sustaining groups or facilitate individual citizen participation, but to provide channels of access to resources. The information centres are an *information* resource, making citizens aware of available services and programs. Government grants are a *monetary* resource; the staff of the centre help citizens to obtain and benefit from them by assisting in the design projects, in making the application, and by supervising implementation. In the small community of St. Paul, according to the newspaper report already quoted, \$90,000 was obtained to finance winter works programs [44].

The secret of success, Mr. Arsenault says, is having someone responsible to push the projects. Perhaps this is the chief learning of NewStart corporations about obtaining funds; it may not be new knowledge, but it is knowledge that has yet to be accepted. The people who most need help, and for whom many government programs are designed, do not normally receive that help because they do not know that it exists. They also lack the skill to design an acceptable project, apply for funds, and push it to completion.

G. STRATEGY

The community development approach assumes, in the words of the Nova Scotia social development project directors, that "there are enough capacities for leadership in all communities, regardless of their social status, to make possible the development of effective self-help programs" [36].

Does the NewStart experience verify the assumption and thus validate the community development approach to solving the problems of disadvantage?

Capacities for leadership were found in all communities. But were they sufficient to make possible the development of effective self-help programs?

Self-help programs were developed, and some were effective. But to what extent were they the product of local leadership?

Prince Edward Island NewStart, which (like Nova Scotia) opted for a from-the-bottom-up strategy, suggests through its research evaluator that a from-the-top-down strategy might have been more effective, at least for economic development [20]:

... the operators of this project opted, for reasons of expediency and personal inclination, for a "bottom up" approach to community economic development. It was noted that the reverse procedure might well, in certain circumstances, prove more fruitful. Given the NewStart mandate to work only with human resource, and the fact that no formal mechanisms were available for exerting influence for changes in governmental procedures and functions, the bottom-up approach was probably a sound strategy to effect changes in individuals, communities, and eventually government. However, it could meet with only limited success since opportunities to apply new skills and knowledges were not present. A more realistic approach would appear to be human resource development concurrent with capital investment and natural resource development. This method would allow a top-down approach, without imposing change and without seeking to adjust the people to changes which precede their own development.

While they do not suggest that a from-the-top-down approach might have been more fruitful, Nova Scotia NewStart project directors concede that [36]:

Solving such problems (of disadvantage) is not a one- or two-pronged approach; the various bodies which control resources and, to a large extent,

the speed of change itself (e.g. policy makers, economic and business representatives) need also to participate co-operatively in such endeavours.

New Brunswick NewStart, through its head of projects, puts it more bluntly [35]:

Certain improvements come about as the result of increased citizen participation in community activities, but most improvement is effected through the input of federal, provincial, municipal or other agencies. The latter improvements require input not only of personnel but also of dollars.

Nevertheless, New Brunswick NewStart, whose interventions established by the corporation were designed to effect structured change, considers citizen participation essential because [50]: "personality characteristics of populations have their roots in the structures that surround them and have, in turn, strong bearing on efforts to change those structures". Components of the New Brunswick NewStart interventions are therefore negotiated with the affected populations, who may object or suggest alternatives [52].

Alberta NewStart defined community development [2] as "the meaningful participation of people in their everyday lives". Community development staff, however, operated within a program whose major component was "a sequence of training experiences leading to assimilation of necessary social and occupational skills" [6], which implies an accommodation to the values of the white society. Perhaps program developers were right in deciding that such an accommodation is necessary, but research staff questioned the chances of success for a program in which needs were determined by program developers according to their own perceptions. A study made while the program was in operation leads to the conclusion that, in the area of social skills at least, the needs perceived by the program developers were not those perceived by the program participants. The study concludes [24]:

... the program developer must determine the needs of the clientele as perceived by the client himself particularly in the Social Relations area. Once this has been completed, then and only then will it be possible to implement a program with some degree of confidence that it will succeed.

Alberta NewStart did not live long enough to apply the findings of this study. In fact, none of the NewStart corporations which have so far carried through social development programs have been able to apply their learnings in further testing of their theories. All protested the unrealities of the time frame within which they operated:

Hopefully ... the planners and implementers of anti-poverty programs (even without understanding the finer points of research methodology) will face up to the fact that sound evaluations of soundly-developed programs require more than a two, three, or even five-year time perspective. Although politically expedient to promise or imply quick solutions to age-old problems of social inequality, the complexity of even small segments of the total problem cannot be glossed over easily [12].

The recommended disposition of the described outcomes of this project is initially for further development. The proposed means for this is to find a sponsor to fund jointly the still operative spokesman group component of the project and a project-developing body, with which it would interface on the basis of a well-defined development proposal or plan. The plan should include arrangements for guidance by a professional community development specialist and the necessary research resources to relate to the study and evaluation aspects of the proposed project. Funding of such continued development, which might be seen as a third phase of a project which is in an embryonic or fetal stage, might be provided from specific government departments or agencies who are concerned with the problem of citizen participation or with improving operation of service delivery systems [36]. The objective of the Canada NewStart program has been to conduct... research and development, and while some progress has been made the problems appear to be far too complex to be solved in the relatively short time available to the NewStart programs. It becomes imperative, therefore, that if effective solutions to these problems are to be found research must be continued beyond the present mandate of Canada NewStart [17].

New Brunswick NewStart, which embarked early in its history on a program of planned social change to which it allocated a large share of its resources, is in a better position to test its theory of social and economic development. The design makes provision for implementation of interventions, evaluation of the success or failure of these interventions, and modification of the theory, thus producing an every-improving theoretical formulation and introducing new hypotheses.

Who will benefit from an improved theory of social and economic development? Obviously, development policy makers and planners.

Who will these policy makers and planners be? New Brunswick NewStart argues for the establishment of *permanent regional planning bodies* as essential to adequate planning and policy implementation. The emphasis is on permanence.

It is the permanence of a planning body which would render a multi-lateral solution to rural problems feasible. A permanent task force of social scientists and program planners, with a mandate to develop a decentralized system of social indication, and with the mandate to co-ordinate multi-disciplinary research in the area, would be in an optimum position to establish a feedback process with both provincial and federal authorities so as to insure the minimization of human resource wastage and the maximization of the region's quality of life [51].

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